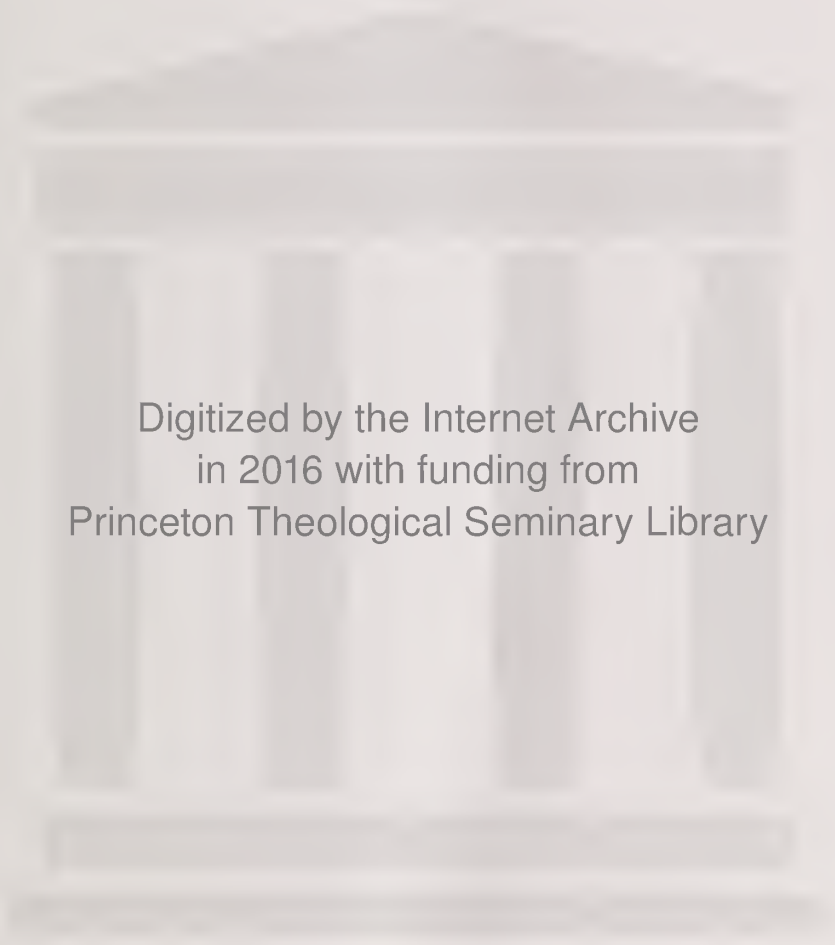






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# The Princeton Theological Review.

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# THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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No. 5—January, 1904.

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## I.

### OUR LORD'S TEACHING CONCERNING HIMSELF.

#### SECONDLY—OUR LORD'S TEACHING CONCERNING HIS MISSION.

Our Lord laid great emphasis upon His Mission. Again and again He describes Himself as sent forth from God. "I came forth," He says, "and am come from God; neither have I come of Myself, but He sent Me." "The living Father sent Me." And generally where it is expressly affirmed that the Father sent the Son, the word used—ἀποστέλλω—conveys the idea that the Son is the delegate, the envoy and representative of the Father. Our Lord, as Westcott notes, "presents His own Mission as the one abiding Mission of the Father." Moreover, Christ's Mission is grounded in His Person. He is not the Son of God because He is sent, but He is sent because He is the Son of God. And in order to fulfill His Mission He became Son of Man. As Son of God He is qualified to be the representative of the Father; and as Son of Man He makes the Father accessible to us. In our Lord's Mission three distinct correlated functions may be distinguished—Revelation, Redemption and Judgment.

The first of these functions belongs to the Prophetic office of Christ, the second to His Priestly office, and the third to His Kingly office. In the three combined there is given the complete conception of the mediatorial work of Christ as foreshadowed in the institutions of the Old Dispensation, and as disclosed in the work and death of the Incarnate Lord Himself.

There is a profound significance in these functions. On the one

hand, they correspond to the original threefold relationship in which man stood to the world, as its Prophet, Priest and King—the Interpreter of its Divine significance, the Medium of its sacrifices of worship and of service, and the Wielder of the supreme God-given authority to subdue it and use it for the great moral and spiritual ends of the Divine Giver. On the other hand, these functions of the Messiah are correlative to the three great needs of sinful man. Ignorant of God and of His righteousness, he needs spiritual light and knowledge. Guilty and polluted, he needs forgiveness and purification. Perverse and enslaved, he needs discipline and freedom. To meet these necessities, to secure for man complete redemption, there must be provided a Saviour who teaches, who atones, who rules, who is Prophet, Priest and King.

Each of these Messianic functions is shadowed forth in the Old Testament. The three mediatorial functions of the Christ are there delineated; but they are there, so to speak, in solution, uncombined. And the Jews never combined them. Stanton warns us against supposing “this threefold conception of the Christ to have been formed before the coming of Jesus.”\* In His own Person and through His own teaching and work, He combined and unified what had been given “in many parts and in many ways” in the Old Testament.

In this part of our inquiry we are to consider how far our Lord assumed the possession of these offices, and what is the significance of the functions of Revelation, Redemption and Judgment which occupy, we believe, a very prominent position in His teaching concerning Himself.

### I. *Revelation.*

Revelation is the function of the Prophet, who is God’s spokesman, the Medium of the communication of the Divine Will. It is not easy to determine how far the Jews recognized the prophetic office of the Messiah. After the cessation of prophetic inspiration there certainly arose an intense longing for the coming of a Prophet. From a few passages in the Gospels, especially the words of the Samaritan woman, it would seem that this expected Prophet was identified with the Messiah. But in other passages the two are clearly distinguished. When John the Baptist said he was not the Christ, he was asked whether then he was not Elijah or the Prophet. Toward the close of the Galilean ministry, when questionings about Jesus were rife, some said, “This is of a truth that Prophet.”

\* Stanton : *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p 293.

Others said, "This is the Christ." The multitude, we are told, took Him for a Prophet, a "Prophet mighty in deed and word," but this was evidently not a recognition of His Messiahship.

Our Lord never took to Himself the name of Prophet, but He did most unmistakably assume prophetic functions, and in such form as no Prophet ever did or could claim. He claimed to know the Will of God, the Truth of God, yea, God Himself, in terms which in the mouth of the greatest of the Prophets would have been arrogant and blasphemous. He set Himself before the world as its one Teacher and Guide, a Guide who could never err, a Teacher who spoke with the authority of God Himself.

Our Lord declares that He came into the world to bear witness to the truth. He is Himself the Truth. His coming was the coming of the Truth. By the truth is meant the expression of God's thought and will and character. Christ expounded God to us; He showed us the Father. "No one," saith St. John, "hath ever yet seen God." God had indeed manifested Himself in His works; He had spoken by the Prophets; in visions and theophanies and angelic splendors, they had caught glimpses of His glory; but God Himself no one had ever yet seen. Then at last appeared the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, in a transcendent fellowship of life and love with the Eternal; He declared, interpreted, God to man. "He that hath seen Me," saith Jesus, "hath seen the Father."

Compare with the testimony in St. John our Lord's declaration in the Synoptics: "No one knoweth the Son save the Father; nor doth any one know the Father save the Son, and He to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him." Observe, it is not knowledge about the Father or the Son that is meant, but knowledge of each—a personal, intimate, essential knowledge of the very Being Himself. Of this knowledge there are four things to be noted.

First, it is not mere human knowledge, of however extraordinary a character; it is not knowledge which man as man can possess. A marked contrast is here drawn between what man as man can know, and that which our Lord knew. As our Lord said, "Not that any man hath seen the Father, save He which is from God, He hath seen the Father" (John vi. 46). In making this contrast our Lord evidently grounds it upon the distinction between Himself, the Incarnate Son of God, and other men.

Secondly, it is not mutual knowledge merely, but commensurate knowledge. Our Lord asserts His knowledge of the Father to be equal to the Father's knowledge of Him.

Thirdly, Our Lord's knowledge of the Father is not the outcome of a remembrance He has of a former fellowship with Him; it flows out of a present fellowship, out of His unbroken community and fellowship with the Father. Jesus insists upon His personal connection with the Father. His message was drawn directly and continually from the Father, as the message of no Prophet could be. "The only begotten Son *which is in the bosom* of the Father, He declared Him." Again and again our Lord declares that all that He taught He had "seen with the Father," that He testified "what He had seen and heard" from the Father. "He whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God" (John iii. 33, 34, viii. 38).

Then fourthly, the revelation of God in and through Christ is a Living and Personal Revelation. The Divine life and being are expressed in the terms and under the conditions of human life, in the obedience, purity, goodness, love and self-sacrifice of Jesus. The Fatherhood of God is manifested in the well-beloved Son. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." It is not messages from God, but God in Himself whom Christ reveals to men. He who does not see in Jesus the revelation of the Father does not truly know Him. This is what our Lord implied in His reply to Philip: "Have I been so long time with thee, and hast thou not come to know Me?" Jesus had been revealing the Father to the disciples in all His intercourse with them; and as they had not seen in Him the Father, they had failed to know even Jesus Himself.

Our Lord declares that we have no right understanding of Him until we see the Father in Him. Then He gives the ground of His declaration: "I am in the Father, and the Father in Me." I, the God-man, am now in the Father. Just as I was in the bosom of the Father in heaven, so on earth "I am in the Father, and the Father in Me"; so that My works are His works, and My words are His words (John xiv. 10, iii. 34, viii. 28, xii. 49, xviii. 8).

If Jesus thus knew God, do we marvel that He knew men—knew their motives and character, searching them to the utmost depth of their being; knew their knowledge, what was real in it and what was false or imperfect in it, its extent, its limitations, its illusions; their knowledge of God, so shallow when they thought it profound; their knowledge of themselves, so perverted through self-deception?

If Jesus thus knew God, did He not know God's will and God's working—what He had done and was doing, what He was about to do, the past history, the future developments of the great work



of redemption? Concerning that future he made significant announcements. He disclosed in part the future of His kingdom, its conflicts and its victories. He spoke of it as One familiar with it. Was it not part of the Divine plan, part of the work His Father had given Him to do?

But of our Lord's knowledge of the future, one remarkable limitation is given; it is in relation to the time of His second advent. Repeatedly He declares its certainty and describes its accompaniments and its object, its glory and its terror; but in regard to the time of His appearing, "of that day and that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father." This is the one limitation set forth in the whole vast compass of Christ's knowledge. Clearly it is exceptional and is given as such. But this exception has been dealt with by some as though it were not an exception but the rule; and upon the ground of this one case general inferences have been drawn as to Christ's ignorance in other things, matters which affect fundamentally our conception of the methods and the character of Divine Revelation.

These inferences have been largely based upon the modern theory of Kenosis, which, in its recent forms, first came into prominence about sixty years ago.\*

This theory finds its chief support in what has been shown, I think conclusively, to be an erroneous interpretation of Phil. ii. 5-11. Christ in taking upon Him the form of a servant did not lay aside the form of God. He did not cease to be God. He did not divest Himself of a single Divine attribute. As Hooker says, "No alteration accrued to the nature of God"; and on the other hand, the essential properties of Deity were not imparted to the manhood (Hooker, E. P. V., 54, 5, 6). The two natures, the divine and the human, in their fullness and perfection subsisted together in the one Person. That of which Christ emptied Himself was not the form of God, but "the being on an equality with God" (American R. V.); the reference is not to the being and attributes of the Son in His pre-incarnate state, but to the glory which He had with the Father, the equality of the Divine state which He had shared. This it was that "He counted not a thing to be grasped" (American R. V.). This surrender was prior to the Incarnation and did not affect the essential nature of the Son. Christ voluntarily divested Himself of the Divine rights to which He might have clung in order to take

\* "The heresy, at once modern and semi-pagan, of Kenosis, the theory according to which the preëxistent and eternal Deity commits suicide by incarnating Himself, in order gradually to be reborn and find himself God again at the end of His human life" (Sabatier: *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 142).

the form of a servant. Then as a further step in that course of self-humiliation upon which He had entered, He humbled Himself in suffering and obedience, even to the utmost limit of death; and all through this career of service and humiliation He was still subsisting in the form of God.\*

The Kenosis must be placed side by side with the Pleroma. "For He (God the Father) was pleased that all the Fullness (the Totality of the Divine Powers and Attributes) should dwell in Him (the Son)." Hence it follows, as St. Paul declares, that "in Him (Christ) dwelleth (permanently) all the fullness of the God-head bodily," that is, under the human conditions which He assumed (Col. i. 19, ii. 9).

Now Christ, as God, possessed a Divine mind, and as man He possessed a human mind. Christ had both a Divine and a human consciousness. There is no psychological difficulty in this double consciousness. It is possible for one who is merely man to concentrate his consciousness upon one subject of knowledge, and for the time being to exclude other subjects from his consciousness.†

Nay, more, it is not only possible but indispensable. Human consciousness can only be exercised in the form of attention. Attention is simply the concentration of consciousness upon a definite and limited object of thought. We cannot know things except as we pass from one limited object to another. But the Divine consciousness is complete, unlimited and eternal.

It was possible for Jesus not to know in His consciousness as man what He, as God, knew in his Divine consciousness. And still further, the human mind of Jesus must have received knowledge, must have grown in wisdom as Jesus is said to have done. That growth in Divine knowledge and wisdom depended upon the indwelling spirit and His fellowship through that Spirit with the Father. The human mind of Jesus entered into fellowship with the Divine mind. The Incarnate Son partakes of the Divine knowledge. As He says, "The Son can do nothing of Himself,

\* "Being in the form of God"—ἐ μορφῇ Θεοῦ ἐπάρχων—means "while originally existing and continuing to exist, in the essential form of God." See Archdeacon Gifford's exhaustive discussion in the *Expositor*, Fifth Series, Vol. 4. "The word ἐπάρχων, *subsisting*, as used by St. Paul, denotes both the preëxistence and the continued existence of Christ *in the form of God*" (Gifford).

† Many psychologists are of the opinion that definite consciousness has a background of sub-consciousness and unconsciousness. The phenomena of unconscious cerebration seem to show that mind is larger than consciousness. One may not dogmatize in so obscure a sphere, but at least we find analogies that confirm the possibility of the coexistence of the Divine and human consciousness in the God-man.

but what He seeth the Father doing, for the Father showeth Him all things that Himself doeth." Observe the present tense. The reference is clearly to the incarnate life of the Son, not to the pre-incarnate life. This is still more evident from what follows: "And greater works than these will He show Me" (John v. 19, 20). The Father is ever giving the Son power and knowledge. The knowledge which Jesus thus received was, on the one hand, knowledge such as only God was capable of, no mere man could have received it; on the other hand, the finite human consciousness of Jesus could not take in the whole infinite consciousness of the Divine nature. He received all that such a mind could appropriate, but He never ceased to be human. We must beware of a Eutychian confusion of the two natures. There was another limit to what Jesus received. There was given to Him just what was needful for His mission. As Hooker says, what was or was not imparted to His manhood was ruled by "the exigence of that economy of service for which it pleased Him in love and mercy to be made man" (E. P. V., 54, 6).

We can now see how it was possible for Jesus, as man, to be ignorant of the time of His second coming. And it is not difficult to see why this limit was here placed upon His human knowledge. The time of the second advent was in the Divine wisdom excluded from the Divine Revelation to man. "It is not for you," said Jesus to the disciples, "to know times and seasons which the Father hath set in His authority." Doubtless there may be other matters, the secret things which Moses declared to belong to the Lord our God, which the Incarnate Lord by His own will excluded from the sphere of His human mind and knowledge; but no others are named to us.

What warrant, then, we may now ask, have critics of the present destructive school to apply this exceptional case, as though it were a general principle, to our Lord's knowledge of the Old Testament? These critics admit that our Lord held and taught the plenary inspiration of the Old Testament, its authenticity as genuine and trustworthy history, and its supreme authority as the revealed Word of God. Our Lord never asserted ignorance in regard to this subject. The knowledge of the time of our Lord's second coming would not have been profitable for us, and the subject is wisely excluded from the scope of the Divine revelation. The knowledge of the nature and authority of the Old Testament is vital to us; it lies at the very foundation of the Christian faith.

Our Lord's relations to the Old Testament are of supreme im-

portance. In regard to them we must distinguish at least five ways in which He stands related to the Old Testament.

(1) Our Lord was a profound and ardent student of the Old Testament. Not only had He a wonderful knowledge of its spiritual teaching, its deep significance as a revelation of God's will and character, He had a full and accurate knowledge of its events and incidents. Moreover there could not have been a complete spiritual knowledge of the Old Testament without a commensurate historical knowledge. If our Lord's position was so exalted in regard to the former, it can scarcely be thought that it could have been imperfect and inaccurate in regard to the latter. Our Lord knew the Old Testament as no one else ever did or could know it.

(2) Our Lord honored the Old Testament. He appealed to its authority; and His appeal is the more remarkable standing as it does side by side with His own unparalleled self-assertion. His own "I say unto you" rings out with the same unhesitating assertion of authority as His repeated affirmation, "It is written." He expresses in the very same terms the perpetuity of His own words and the words of the Old Testament. Of the latter He says: "Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law till all be fulfilled" (Matt. v. 18). And of the former he declares, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away" (Matt. xxiv. 35). Thus our Lord affirmed the inviolability of the book of the Old Covenant. He corrected misinterpretations and rebuked additions to it. He sternly denounced all those who made it void by the traditions of men. He discriminated what was temporary in it, but He accepted it as stamped with irrefragible Divine authority, and assured men of the certainty of its fulfillment and the stability of its promises.

(3) Our Lord declared Himself to be the supreme Subject of the Old Testament. Just before the beginning of His Galilean ministry He affirmed, "They are they which testify of Me" (John v. 39). Just before He went out from the upper chamber to the place of His agony He said, "This that is written must be fulfilled in Me, . . . for that which concerneth Me hath fulfillment" (Luke xxii. 37). On the cross He cried, "It is finished"; that is, the Scripture is fulfilled, the sacrifice is consummated. After His Resurrection again He reaffirmed His testimony: "All things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms concerning Me." Thus our Lord set off every step in His work in accord with the inspired programme of



the Old Testament. Thus He translated into act and deed every word and type and promise of the Old Testament. And it was with the most complete knowledge of it that He declared it to have been fulfilled.

(4) Our Lord taught and trained His disciples from the Old Testament. He continually referred them to it. He described the correspondence of its promises with His actions. He introduced His predictions of His sufferings and death with reference to what had been written. After His resurrection He reminded them that while He was yet with them, He had told them that "all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms concerning Me." And again, "Beginning from Moses and from all the Prophets, He interpreted to them in all the Scriptures (observe the emphatic *all*) the things concerning Himself" (Luke xxiv. 24, 27). Nor did He merely instruct them, as another teacher might have done. "He opened their mind that they might understand the Scriptures" (Luke xxiv. 45). He gave them spiritual illumination and enabled them to apprehend what was written and to discern its fulfillment in Himself.

(5) But not even yet have we exhausted our Lord's relations to the Old Testament. He was not only the devout student, the indefatigable teacher and unerring expounder of the Old Testament; not only did He honor its authority and find in Himself its supreme fulfillment; He was its Divine author. Christ's work of Revelation was prior to His Incarnation. He then entered upon another stage in that work; and another and still higher and more glorious stage in it will begin with His second coming. God's revelation of Himself began with creation. In His works His glory is manifested, His power and wisdom and goodness are disclosed, and Christ is the Mediator of that Revelation, for "all things were made through Him, and without Him was not anything made that hath been made" (John i. 3). The office of Revealer is essentially inherent in our Lord's Person. It has always belonged to Him as Son. He is Himself by His Divine nature, the Revealer of the Father; for He is "the Effulgence of His glory and the express Image of His substance" (Heb. i. 3, R. V.). Our Lord's declaration that He is "the Light of the World" points to Himself as the Source of all Revelation; and this before, as well as after, the Incarnation. For He says, "Whosoever I am in the world, I am the Light of the World" (John ix. 5). As Bishop Westcott comments: "The indefinite character of the statement suggests the thought of the manifold revelations of the Word. 'Whosoever' and not only

during that revelation which was then in course of being fulfilled, but also in the time of the Patriarchs and of the Law and of the Prophets and through the later ages of the Church Christ is the Light of the World."

Let it be noted, also, that our Lord's testimony to the Old Testament Scriptures was borne, not only in the days of His humiliation, but after His Resurrection, when He was already ascending and returning to that glory with the Father which for a season He had surrendered. He reaffirmed it all even more explicitly. No longer can the plea of the alleged ignorance of His humiliation be used to invalidate this testimony.

Moreover, side by side with our Lord's latest testimony to the Old Testament stands His remarkable declaration of sovereign authority: "All power is given unto Me, in heaven and on earth." Now with that endowment of power there must have been a commensurate endowment of knowledge and wisdom. Without this what would authority be but an arbitrary tyranny, and what would power be but a blind, irresponsible force? Such an anomaly is inconceivable anywhere, most of all in One who is the Image of God and the Ideal of man. He who has all power in and over the universe can be none other than He "in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

Now let us consider the position in which the destructive school of Old Testament Criticism places this wise Master, "Our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." Not only are many historic statements made by these critics at variance with the statements made by our Lord; not only do they deny the historical character of portions of the Sacred Writings which they resolve into myth and legend; but they reverse the whole history of the people of Israel, as well as the literary history of the Scriptures. The things which the critics now profess to have brought to light must have been known to the Jews at the time of the Exile and Return, but the Jews of our Lord's time had lost all this knowledge. How they did so has not been explained. They held that view of the Old Testament history and Scriptures which the Christian Church has always held. For 2000 years Jews and Christians alike have been under this delusion, from which these critics now desire to emancipate the Church.

Now, either our Lord knew better, but concealed His knowledge because He thought the matter of no importance and desired to accommodate Himself to popular opinion, or He knew no better, account of the ignorance which is alleged to have been part of

His humiliation. As to the former theory, the mere statement of the issues involved shows them to be of vital importance. Accommodation to error, and such serious error as this, was absolutely foreign to our Lord's methods and alien to His character. Besides, our Lord does not merely pass by these matters in silence: He makes positive affirmations which imply that He fully shared the belief of His contemporaries and of the Christian Church as to the origin and authority of the Old Testament, and as to the facts of Jewish history. The second plea, that of ignorance, is absolutely contradicted by our Lord's claims and by the relations in which He stood to the Old Testament. Is it conceivable that our Lord could be in ignorance of the real character and origin of the writings which He received and stamped with His authority as God's own words to men? If our Lord were so ignorant in regard to the former revelation of God, what guarantee have we that His claims to be the Revealer of the Father are not vitiated by the same ignorance? The destructive critics may find here no difficulty, because their view of our Lord's Person, it is to be feared, is on the same low level as their view of the Old Testament; but those who are attempting to hold fast to their faith in Christ as Incarnate God, while they accept the destructive theories of recent criticism, must face the tremendous issues raised; for these theories, by implication at least, impugn either the character of our Lord or His competency as the Revealer of God.

## II. *Redemption.*

The very work of Jesus as Prophet and Revealer of the Father, while it satisfies one necessity of our fallen nature, discloses another. The more man comes to know Himself and to know God, the more profoundly does he become conscious of the great gulf between the Divine holiness and love and his own pollution and selfishness. The guilt of his sin oppresses him. He longs for reconciliation with the Father against whom he has sinned. He calls out for a Daysman, a Priest, One who shall put away sin, atone for guilt, make peace with God and deliver him from the tyranny and pollution of his evil nature.

The Priesthood of Messiah is preëminently a Christian doctrine, even more distinctly so than that of His Prophetic office. Why the Rabbinic tradition found no place for the Priestly office of the Messiah is explained, says Edersheim,\* by the absence of the felt need of deliverance from sin, which was due to the externalism and self-righteousness of Judaism.

\* Edersheim: *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, I, 167.

Our Lord nowhere assumes the name of Priest, as He did not that of Prophet. But the functions of Priesthood He certainly claimed. He was the one ideal Priest, as the writer of the Hebrews portrays Him. He was both Priest and Victim. He offered up Himself for us men and for our salvation.

The mission of Jesus was distinctly a mission of salvation. "The Son of Man has come to seek and to save that which was lost." The name He bore proclaimed Him to be "the Salvation of Jehovah." At a very early period in His ministry He was greeted as the "Saviour of the World" (John iv. 42); and this word Saviour "doubtless included every sense in which Christ rescued and rescues men from the power and guilt of sin."

How, then, did our Lord effect this rescue? In what way, by what means, did He become the Saviour of the World? What does He Himself teach us in regard to the great work of salvation which He came to accomplish? His work of Revelation was no doubt part of His saving work. He taught men the Truth, and this He did not only by means of His words, but by means of His whole life. His works, His suffering, His death, His resurrection are all constituents of the Revelation. But while all He wrought and all He suffered was full of teaching, was part of His revelation of God, He did not work and suffer merely and solely to teach us. He had a definite work to accomplish beyond that of Revelation—a work without which Revelation itself would have failed in its purpose and proved futile and ineffective—He came not merely to teach but to save.

And with this work of salvation the death of Christ is specifically connected. It is indeed true that the object of His death was not different from the work of His life. It was all of a piece. Whatever Christ wrought, or taught, or endured was for our salvation. There was the obedience of His whole life. He rendered perfect and absolute obedience to the will of God. He completely fulfilled the law in all its breadth and spirituality. "My meat is to do the will of Him who sent Me." "I am come down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him who sent Me" (John v. 3, vi. 38). Thus He fulfilled the Law. He magnified it by His glad and active obedience, and through all He suffered. His whole life on earth was the humiliation of Himself. That obedience and that humiliation reached their climax in the death on the cross. He became obedient "even unto death." And the obedience and suffering of His death have a unique significance which is never attributed to the obedience and suffering of His life.



Let us then consider, first, the place which our Lord gives to His death; and secondly, the significance which He attaches to it.

1. *The Place of the Death of Christ.*—How large a place the record of it fills in the Gospel history! All the Evangelists relate it, even in its minute details. There is nothing parallel to this in the Biblical history. In the case of the Prophets and Saints of the Scriptures, their death is but an incident, merely mentioned, rarely described, and then in briefest form. The large and conspicuous place accorded by the Evangelists to the death of Christ itself implies that some special and supreme significance attaches to it.

But it is not merely in the records of the Lord's life, but in His consciousness and His utterance that His death occupies so pre-eminent a position. As Bengal says, "He lived in His Passion." The shadow of the cross lies athwart His whole ministry. From its very outset His death is ever before Him as its predestined goal. It stands forth as the great event to which His whole life is leading on. It does not intervene as an accident or interruption. On the contrary, it is the consummation of His Mission, toward which He deliberately and voluntarily advances. He began His ministerial work by a sacrificial consecration of Himself. By His submission to John's baptism He numbered Himself with transgressors. He then accepted the vocation foreshadowed in Isaiah's portraiture of the suffering Servant of Jehovah. And in the Father's approval of His dedication of Himself He addressed Him in words partly taken from the same portraiture (Isa. xlii. 1) and partly from the Second Psalm: "Thou art My Son, My Beloved, in whom I am well pleased."

Thus in our Lord's decision and devotion of Himself to death, we find the true significance of the temptations in the wilderness, temptations which confronted Him throughout His whole career. Must He fulfill the worldly expectations of the people and be such a Messiah as they desired, or is He to do God's will in humiliation and death?

On the occasion of the first public act of His ministry our Lord disclosed the ruling purpose of His life, but in terms only intelligible when He had reached the goal. "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (John ii. 19). "This Temple" St. John explains to be "the Temple of His body," the flesh which, the same John tells us (i. 14), had become the Tabernacle of the Eternal Word, the Word who was God. In Jesus Christ, as in a new Temple not made with hands, God meets with men; and herein

is to be consummated the Eternal Sacrifice which fulfills and supersedes the sacrifices of the old Temple.

Soon afterward our Lord intimates His death in the terms of another Old Testament type, the lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness: "Even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." "Lifted up"—this includes both death and the victory over death; for St. John does not separate, as St. Paul does, the humiliation from the glory which followed. On two subsequent occasions our Lord made use of the same expression. At the Feast of Tabernacles He told the Jews: "When ye have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I am He." And in the Temple, on the Tuesday of Passion week, He declared: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me." "This," explains the Evangelist, "He said, signifying what death He should die."\*

In the second year of our Lord's ministry, in Galilee, He speaks with some reserve. We find but two occasions on which He makes allusions to His death. On one of these He makes the pathetic announcement of the taking away of the bridegroom from the very midst of the marriage feast, torn away by violence, and leaving the bride and her friends overwhelmed with sorrow—a fitting representation of the agony and dismay of the disciples of Jesus at the awful tragedy in Gethsemane and on Calvary. On another occasion, according to St. Matthew (xii. 40), our Lord declared that as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites by his living death and resurrection, so would His own death and resurrection be a sign to them. Even those who assert that the story of Jonah is merely a parabolical representation of the Exile and Return of Judah, admit the significance of the sign (*Contentio Veritatis*, p. 202).

At the beginning of the third year of our Lord's ministry, at the time of the Passover, to which He did not go up, our Lord delivered in the Synagogue at Capernaum His great discourse on the Bread of Life. "The Bread that I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world" (John vi. 51). "The thought of death lies already in the word (flesh), but that thought is not as yet brought out, as afterward by the addition of 'blood.' But in verse 51 the thought is developed. "The 'flesh' is presented in its twofold shape as 'flesh' and 'blood,' and by this separation of its parts the idea of a violent death is presupposed" (Bishop Westcott, *in loco*).

A crisis had come. Many of those who had professed to be dis-

\* The primary reference in the "uplifting" is certainly to death (Ezra vi. 11, R. V.). In John iii, 14, viii. 28, it seems to be the exclusive reference. Elsewhere a secondary and subordinate reference to the "glorification" may be admitted (Denny: *The Death of Christ*, p. 257).

ciples were turning back. The death of John the Baptist, a few weeks previously, seemed prophetic of the death of Jesus Himself. From this time our Lord withdrew Himself more from the multitudes who followed Him, and devoted Himself to the training of the twelve. Accordingly we find in His later Galilean ministry, the six months which intervened between the death of John the Baptist and our Lord's final withdrawal from Galilee, a notable change in the character of the Lord's references to His death. Previously He had spoken of it in general terms and in figures which in part concealed the dread reality. This He had done because the twelve were not yet able to bear it. The idea of a suffering Messiah was entirely alien to the Jewish mind. Their doctrine absolutely excluded such a conception. The Apostles shared to the full the ideas and prejudices of their contemporaries, by which their conception of the nature and work of the Messiah was largely colored. It was not until they had learned to trust in Him and had been brought to faith in Him as the long-expected One who was the Hope of Israel, that He plainly told them of what was before Him. On three notable occasions, recorded in the three Synoptic Gospels, He successively announced to them His approaching Passion and Death, each time with increasing fullness and plainness. St. Mark (viii. 31, xix. 31, x. 32) gives us the most graphic account of these announcements and their effect upon the twelve.

The first occasion was just after St. Peter's great confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." Only now did our Lord consider His disciples strong and mature enough in their faith to be able to bear a disclosure which must inexpressibly shock them. "From that time forth," says St. Matthew (xvi. 21), "began Jesus to shew unto His disciples how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day." But in spite of the faith he had confessed, Peter "took Him," as if with a certain vehemence and violence, "and began to rebuke Him," as though he thought, as did the Lord's friends on another occasion, that He was beside Himself.

The second occasion was shortly after the Transfiguration, when the chosen three were eye-witnesses "of His majesty" (2 Peter i. 16). Again He pressed upon them the unwelcome truth. But they did not understand what He said and they were afraid to ask Him; they dreaded to find out that it was true, and shut their eyes, as men often do, to the terrible reality of the inevitable. But at the very end of His mission and in the midst of the Trans-

figuration glory the subject of His discourse with His visitants, the representatives of the Law and the Prophets, was His decease which He was about to accomplish at Jerusalem.

If the discourse on the Good Shepherd (John x. 1-21) was spoken at the Feast of Dedication, as some think, it should be mentioned here, although most place it earlier, at the Feast of Tabernacles. In it our Lord in plain terms states the great aim of His life: "I am the Good Shepherd; the Good Shepherd layeth down His life for the sheep." Nor can this be explained away as merely an ideal possibility, for Jesus proceeds: "Therefore doth the Father love Me, because I (the pronoun is emphatic) lay down my life, that I may take it again." "The 'that' marks a definite purpose and not merely a result or condition" (Bishop Westcott). Nor did Christ act under any restraint. It was the will of the Father, but Christ voluntarily fulfilled it. "No one taketh it away from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power (right, authority) to take it again." •

Some months later, toward the close of the Peræan ministry, and when He was about to enter into the dark shadows of the Passion week, our Lord for the third time, and in still more emphatic terms, repeated his explicit announcement of His death. There was that in His mien which filled the twelve with amazement and awe. With great particularity of detail Jesus declares what is about to befall Him. But not even yet do they understand. Their dullness is strange and tragic; yet "it was providential, and it became a security to the Church for the truth of the Resurrection. The theory that they believed because they expected that He would rise again is against all evidence" (Plummer on Luke xviii. 34).

Nothing puts in a stronger light the absolute inability of the disciples to understand the self-sacrifice of Jesus than the ambitious request of James and John, made at such a time, to sit on His right hand and on His left in His glory. Well might He say, "Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink of the cup that I drink of?" When James and John and Peter heard Him, a stone's throw off in the garden, plead in His agony, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from Me," did they begin then to have some dim apprehension of that mysterious sorrow of a Redeemer burdened with the world's transgressions?

Our Lord went on to rebuke the self-seeking of the disciples, and to lay down the great law of His kingdom—the law of self-sacrifice. The way to true greatness is through lowly service. He, the greatest of all, is servant of all. "The Son of Man came



not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many" (Mark x. 45). This word "ransom" throws a new light upon the meaning of the Lord's Passion.

In the Passion week history as related by St. John there appear several significant allusions to the approaching sacrifice: the corn of wheat which must die that it may bear fruit; the lifting up from the earth to draw all men unto Him; the proof of greatest love, that a man lay down his life for his friends (John xii. 24, 32, xv. 13).

The last great word of Jesus anticipatory of His death was embodied in a sacred rite, when He made the Bread and Wine symbols of His sacrifice. "This is My Body, which is given for you"; "This cup is the new covenant in My Blood, even that which is poured out for you." Upon the significance of the Supper we need none other than St. Paul's inspired comment: "For as often as ye eat this Bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till He come" (1 Cor. xi. 26).

This brief sketch may help us to realize the unique place which His death held in the mind of Jesus throughout the whole course of His ministry. But there are two factors which must be taken account of in order to any real appreciation of our Lord's attitude in regard to it.

One has been already mentioned—the aversion of the disciples to the idea of a suffering Messiah and their strange slowness to take in the reiterated teaching by which Jesus sought to convey to them the dread truth. Now Jesus was truly man. He craved sympathy and affection. Yet there was not one of those around Him who could share with Him the great sorrow and burden of His life. They did not understand it, as the Evangelist tells us. He must tread the wine-press alone. This awful solitariness of the Son of Man in the anticipation of His passion must have been one of the bitter ingredients in His cup of woe.

The other factor is in the mind of the Lord Himself—His natural human shrinking from suffering, and His plainer and more poignant realization of all that these sufferings meant as the appointed hour drew near. How pathetically His feelings disclose themselves! The great conflict through which He passed reached its climax in the garden. Absolutely without a taint of selfishness, Jesus never permitted His sorrow to overshadow others, and yet again and again its intensity shows itself so as to impress others. It is seen, for example, in the remarkable description with which St. Mark prefaces his account of the third great announcement of the Passion. The Lord walks before; the disciples follow; they are

filled with fear; there is that in His mien which impresses them with strange awe and forebodings, for His face was steadfastly set to meet the great ordeal of sacrifice and suffering by which alone His mission of Salvation could be fulfilled.

Then upon another occasion His agony bursts forth in the cry, "I have a baptism to be baptized with," a baptism of fire and blood; "and how am I straightened," oppressed, afflicted, "until it is finished." "The prospect of suffering was a perpetual Gethsemane."

It was in the Temple courts, on the Tuesday before He suffered, that His pent-up feelings found utterance in these pathetic words, "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour. But for this cause came I to this hour" (John xii. 27). Christ does not say, as Paul did (Phil. i. 22, 23), "What shall I choose?" but "What shall I say?" It is the utterance of sorrow, not of indecision. The conflict in Gethsemane was but the climax of the agony with which He had long been wrestling—the strong crying, the tears, the sweat of blood, and then the complete resignation to the Divine Will. At last, on the cross, the heart-breaking cry, "My God! My God! why hast Thou forsaken Me?" What does all this mean—the "sore amazeiment" and "exceeding sorrow," the shrinking, the conflict, the agony? What does it all mean in One whose delight was to obey the Father's will and whose death would be a return to the Father's glory? There is but one explanation—He was suffering "for sins, the just for the unjust." This is the explanation which our Lord Himself gives us.

2. The *Significance* of our Lord's death is set forth in His own words, in which five great truths are emphasized.

(1) The death of Christ was *Voluntary*. "I lay down My life," He says. "No one taketh it away from Me, but I lay it down of Myself." In all He did and suffered Christ had perfect freedom. He had right, He said, power and authority to lay down His life, as well as to take it again. It was the Father's will that He should die, but there was complete harmony between His will and the will of the Father. It was then in the exercise of His own sovereign will and in the consciousness of complete freedom that Christ gave Himself for us.

(2) The death of Christ was the *Manifestation of unspeakable Love*. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son." "As the Father has loved Me," Christ says, "I have loved you." It is not necessary to dwell upon this. No one can question it. But it was not a gratuitous exhibition of love, and it could not be a manifestation of love unless it were something else.

(3) The death of Christ was a *Necessity*. "The Son of Man must suffer." "Behooved it not?" He demanded of the doubting disciples, on the way to Emmaus, "Behooved it not the Christ to suffer these things?" And He repeated it on the evening of the same day, "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved the Christ to suffer and rise again." Christ's death was not necessary merely in the sense that it was inevitable, that the wrath of His foes pursued Him relentlessly, and there was no escape. Its necessity did not lie in circumstances which He did not foresee and could not control. In the hour of His arrest He demanded of Peter, "Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech My Father, and He shall even now send Me twelve legions of angels? How then should the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?" (Matt. xxvi. 53, 54). "No one," He said, "taketh it (My life) away from Me."

Whatever the necessity, Christ's action was free and Christ's power to deliver Himself untrammelled. But He died in obedience to the Divine Will, which He declared He came to fulfill. He dies willingly in the performance of His mission, in the carrying out of the Divine plan of salvation. We may now ask why the Divine Will made it necessary? The answer to this question is plain up to a certain point. Beyond that the scope of this paper does not permit us to go.

(4) The death of Christ was *Sacrificial*. By it sin was expiated and the sinner released. As John the Baptist declared, He is "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29). He is the Lamb of God, the sacrificial Lamb, which God Himself has provided. He taketh away—not merely taketh upon Him, but, as the Septuagint usage of the word demands, taketh away—that is, taketh away by bearing it, as the scape-goat bore away all the iniquities of Israel (Lev. xvi. 22), bears away by sacrifice, by atonement, expiates the sin of the world.

Our Lord declared that He came "to give His life a ransom for many." What the Psalmist (Ps. lxxix.) declared that no one could do for his brother—"give to God a ransom for him . . . because the redemption of their soul is precious and must be let alone forever"—even this Jesus declared that He was about to do, and to do it by giving His life. A ransom is a price paid for redemption, satisfaction offered for a life, as the Hebrew **כֶּפֶר** for which it stands is defined, a propitiatory gift (Driver). He for whom it is paid is "redeemed." He has been bought with a price; and St. Peter tells us the price is the precious blood of Christ. "A ransom for many," in exchange for many; as when it is said, "An eye for an

eye," and as when our Lord demands, "What can a man give in exchange for his life?" Plainly it is a substitution. Christ will give Himself for us, the Just for the unjust. This interpretation is further sustained by our Lord's identification of Himself with the suffering servant of Jehovah. In the synagogue at Nazareth, having read from Isaiah the Prophet's recital of the works of the Lord's Anointed, He declared, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears" (Luke v. 21). He who is the subject of the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah is the subject of the fifty-third, and the latter is repeatedly referred to our Lord in the Gospels. Our Lord Himself quotes the twelfth verse, "He was numbered with transgressors," and declares it to be fulfilled in Himself (Luke xxii. 37). Consider how the great truth of substitution is reiterated in the context: "He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities . . . the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all." The Lord shall "make His soul an offering for sin," "a guilt-offering," by which atonement is made for sin. My Servant, the Righteous, wins righteousness for many; and their guilt He takes for His load ("makes their iniquities His load"). As George Adam Smith says, "Innocent as He is, He gives His life as satisfaction to the Divine law for the guilt of His people. His death was no mere martyrdom or miscarriage of human justice. In God's intent and purpose, but also by its own voluntary offering, it was an expiatory sacrifice."

The significance of the Lord's Supper centres in the death of Christ. Not only do the expressions "broken for you," "shed for many," and the separation of the Body and the Blood point to death, a violent death; but we have also the express declaration that His blood is shed for the remission of sins, and for the ratification of the new covenant. The death of Christ is for the remission of sins. Without that blood-shedding there could be no remission. The ground and condition of forgiveness is in the Blood of Jesus Christ.

This is further brought out in the remarkable expression "the Blood of the covenant" or, as St. Mark relates it, "This is My Blood of the covenant, which is shed for many." St. Luke puts it a little differently: "This cup is the new covenant in My Blood." It is the covenant of salvation, whose significance is given in the words of God Himself: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people." The Lord's Supper is a covenanting rite in which God gives Himself to man, and man gives himself to God. A covenant of old was always ratified by a sacrifice. The old covenant at Sinai between Jehovah and Israel was consummated in a sacrifice,



"atoning for and consecrating the people on their entering upon their new relation to Jehovah" (A. B. Davidson, in *H. D. B.*, article "Covenant"). The new and better covenant is grounded in the death of Jesus Christ, who put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. When Jesus instituted the sacred Supper, He was establishing by means of His own death the new covenant, the new relationship between God and man which has for its fundamental blessing the forgiveness of sins; and of this new covenant relationship our Lord also instituted the Supper to be the sign and the seal. The words of Jesus can have but one meaning, viz., that His death is a sacrifice for sin, that by His blood-shedding He redeems from the curse and condemnation of sin. Whatever the Epistles contain as to the significance of the Lord's death, it is, at least in germ and principle, contained in these words.

(5) The death of Christ is the *Source of Life*. The gift of God is eternal life, and this life is in His Son. In the Synoptical Gospels our Lord appears as the Giver of life; He recovers men from partial death by healing the sick and restoring the blind, the deaf and the maimed; and these miracles were but the signs and pledges of a greater work Christ had to do, a higher life He had to give. All His words and teaching were vehicles of this nobler life of which He was the Bearer. His rescue of the perishing, His absolution of the guilty, His comforting of the sorrowful, His restoration of the fallen were all life-giving ministrations. But while these workings of the Life-giver and these elements of the life He bestowed appear throughout the Gospels, it is St. John who first plainly names the life. As Hort says, it is St. John's Gospel which gives "distinct verbal expression to what the other Gospels relate, but do not name" (*The Way, the Truth and the Life*, p. 108).

This was the purpose of Christ's mission—"I am come that they might have life." This was the object of God's great gift of life—"That whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life": "should not perish," but be saved, for salvation and life are equivalents. They stand for one great gift, but named from two points of view—the one, the awful danger and wretchedness of the sinner; the other, the fullness of the Divine blessing and the marvelous bestowals of Divine love. It was for this end, our Lord declares, that the Father gave Him "power over all flesh, that He should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given Him." And Jesus is not merely a Bestower of Life; He is the Life, as He is the Light, of the world. He is the Fountain of Life, so that apart from Him nothing lives.

Now the communication of spiritual life from Christ to men is specifically connected with the death of Christ. "I am the Good Shepherd; the Good Shepherd layeth down His life for the sheep." The Shepherd dies in order that the sheep may live, and it is no casual or fortuitous connection between the Shepherd's death and the life of the sheep that is meant, as though it were merely that the Shepherd in discharge of His duties to the sheep met a lamentable but probably preventable fate. The connection is of necessity, and it is made deliberately and voluntarily. "I lay down My life for the sheep"; "I lay down My life that I may take it again"; "I lay it down Myself." And again, "My sheep hear My voice and they follow Me, and I give unto them eternal life." The life which He gives is the outcome of His death. He dies for them, and they live through Him.

In the great discourse on the Bread of Life, He Himself is described as the Living Bread. And He explains: "The Bread that I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." "The flesh" means Christ's human nature in its entirety (John i. 14). This flesh He took, assumed: "The Word became flesh." Here is the Incarnation. He gives His flesh. How? By death. "The thought of death lies already in the word (flesh)," says Bishop Westcott. But our Lord proceeds to bring it out more explicitly: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you." "The 'flesh' is presented in its twofold aspect as 'flesh' and 'blood,' and by this separation of its parts the idea of a violent death is presupposed" (Bishop Westcott). Christ is to be made our food; but it is the crucified Christ. We have life by the partaking of Christ Himself, and of Himself in virtue of His death. By faith we partake, as Augustine says, "*crede et manducasti*."

"He that believeth on the Son of God," says St. John, "hath eternal life." The believer has his life and being in Christ—not merely in Christ incarnate, but in Christ crucified. It is the sacrificial and propitiatory death of Christ which is the source and sustenance of life. "To eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of Christ is a figure teaching us that we are to have communion in the Passion of our Lord, and are to treasure in our memory, sweetly and to our use, that for us His flesh was crucified and wounded" (Augustine, *de Doct. Christ.*, III. 16).

"Wherever Christ the Lord is preached that for our sins He gave His body to death and shed His blood for us, and I take it to my heart, believe it firmly and cling to it; that is to eat His body and

drink His blood. To eat is to believe: he that believeth also eats and drinks" (Luther).

In John xvii. 3 the great gift of eternal life is associated with the knowledge of God: "This is life eternal, that they should know Thee the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." This seems to mean more than that the knowledge of God is the condition of life. It seems to give the contents of the life itself. As Weiss says, it states "wherein the essence of eternal life consists." The knowledge is moral and spiritual knowledge. Not only is it the condition of possessing the life; it is vitally and essentially related to the life. In St. John's usage, knowledge implies appropriation and fellowship. It is knowledge which takes hold of God, God as revealed in Christ, and makes Him our own (*ἰδιόποιοι*: *θεόν*, as Chrysostom says), so that He becomes the dominating principle of our lives. It implies, further, surrender to God, union with God, a spiritual apprehension and appropriation, such as is described in John vi. In both passages eternal life is represented as depending on spiritual fellowship with God and with Christ Himself; and it is only through Christ that we can have this fellowship. Now this fellowship is impossible apart from the death of Christ, which has removed the condemnation which separates the guilty man from God. It is by the Blood of Christ we are brought near. There is no fellowship apart from the Blood, no knowledge of God as our reconciled Father apart from the atoning death of Christ. The source and fountain of life is at the cross—not through the Incarnation as such, but through the propitiatory death of Christ, who died that we might live. Although Christ's death is not explicitly named in John xvii, yet it environs it. It filled the upper chamber. It was symbolized in the Sacrament of Appropriation; it was the one great and dominating thought in the mind of the Lord as He uttered this prayer. Westcott describes it as the vivifying side of the conflict, the complement to the agony. In it, he says, "the Son offers Himself as a Perfect Offering."

Thus eternal life is the fruit of Christ's death. It is not that death gives life, but life triumphed over death. Christ died and rose again. The victory was not achieved, but declared by the Resurrection. The conflict was fought out, the victory won, upon the cross. On it, as St. Paul declares, "He spoiled the principalities and powers (of evil)" (Col. ii. 14, 15). He nailed to the cross the bond that was against us. He did away with our condemnation, the great barrier which shut us out from God's love and life. Through Christ's atoning death, and through it alone, could we be-

come partakers of that life. The Incarnation is precious, the Resurrection glorious; the one is the prelude, the other the consummation; both are subordinate to the cross. According to our Lord's own teaching, His sacrificial death was the supreme object of His mission, the one thing which He came to accomplish, and without which everything else that He did would lose its power and its significance for us.

Thus did our Lord fulfill the second great function included in His mission: He redeemed us by His blood. As our great High Priest He offered up Himself, the one sacrifice for sins forever (Heb. x. 12), through which alone we have forgiveness and life.

### III. *Judgment.*

The function of Judgment seems perhaps incompatible with Christ's mission of salvation. He Himself said that He "came not to judge the world, but to save the world." And yet He says, "For judgment came I into this world." He came indeed not to execute judgment, and yet judgment is the natural and inevitable result of His coming.\*

1. There is a *continuous* judgment effected in and by Christ's work of Revelation and Redemption. The Light which reveals must judge the thoughts and characters of men. The Truth tests and tries those to whom it is presented. The message of salvation divides men as they receive it or reject it. The manifestation of Christ to the world separates it into two great classes. "He that believeth on Me is not judged, but he that believeth not is judged already, because he has not believed on the Name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the judgment, that the Light has come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the Light; for their works were evil."

2. The process of judgment, which is continually going on, will culminate in a *crisis of judgment* at the close of this world-period, at "the last day," when "all that are in the tombs shall hear His voice and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the Resurrec-

\* The discussion of Christ's kingly office is in this paper necessarily limited to the function of Judgment. The complete consideration of His Kingship would involve the vast subject of the nature and relations of the Kingdom of Heaven, of which He is not only the Sovereign, but also the Embodiment. Moreover, while the other functions of Christ's Kingship are implied in our Lord's Teaching, that of Judgment is the one most explicitly stated and claimed. For it is that which is most directly and continuously exercised in the work of Redemption. Christ's rule is moral and judicial. It establishes itself by discriminatory processes, the separation of good and evil, in the heart and life of men, and ultimately in the universe.



tion of Life, and they that have done evil unto the Resurrection of Judgment."

This Last Judgment is frequently represented by our Lord in parabolic form: the tares and the wheat, that have long grown together, are finally separated; when the net is drawn up, the bad fish are culled out from the good; in the solemn gathering of the nations, the sheep and the goats represent the two great divisions in which they are placed. And in this place the Judge is described as King, for judgment has always in the East been regarded as a royal prerogative.

In all these representations the final state of men is determined by their relations to Christ. Not only is He the standard by which men's characters are judged, but He Himself will determine the destiny of each. The Father "hath given all judgment unto the Son," to the end that "all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father."

#### CONCLUSION.

Our study of our Lord's teaching concerning Himself has brought out three striking characteristics which mark it: its originality, its homogeneity, and its organic completeness.

##### 1. The *Originality* of our Lord's teaching.

In regard to our Lord's Person, as set forth in the two correlative and complementary designations—Son of Man and Son of God—we have already noted that they did not originate in contemporary Jewish thought. They existed seminally in the Old Testament, but beyond the uncombined germs of the doctrine found there the conceptions do not exist, until they are presented to men in the teaching and in the living reality of Him who is both Son of God and Son of Man.

So, in like manner, in regard to the three functions of our Lord's mission, we have found the germs of these conceptions in the Old Testament. But in Jewish thought and literature they were scarcely recognized, and so far as in any part recognized they were misunderstood and perverted; much less were they ever combined into one harmonious character and personality. It is, as we have already seen, difficult to determine how far the Jews of our Lord's day recognized the prophetic office of the Messiah. A Prophet was indeed expected, but He was seldom, if ever, identified with the Messiah.

The Jews could not conceive of a Priest not of the tribe of Levi. The Messiah was to be a Son of David. And the conception of a

suffering Messiah is not found in the Jewish Messianic teaching, either before or contemporary with the rise of Christianity. "The Jews," says Drummond, "had no expectation of a suffering and atoning Messiah." "The idea of the Messiah's sufferings is not," says Stanton, "found in any Jewish document up to the close of the first century after Christ."\*

The clumsy expedient of two Messiahs—a sufferer, a son of Joseph, of the tribe of Ephraim, and a triumphant King, a Son of David, of the tribe of Judah—shows how hard pressed in controversy its authors were by the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament. The Priesthood of Messiah was preëminently a Christian doctrine.

During the period between the close of the Old Testament Canon and the coming of Christ, Jewish thought and literature abounded with allusions to the last judgment; but in every case the Judge was Jehovah. The Messiah is nowhere described as a Judge of the living and the dead. He was indeed regarded as King, and certain prerogatives of rule and judgment were attributed to Him as such. But His reign precedes the judgment. And the whole conception of His function and His exercise of it is external, gross, worldly. Nowhere is He conceived of as standing in those vital spiritual relations to the character and destiny of man which the New Testament sets forth so conspicuously.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that neither in the Gospels nor in the Epistles is Christ's prerogative of judgment supported by references to the Old Testament.†

The teachings of the Evangelists and Apostles on the subject can have no other origin except in the teachings and declarations of Jesus Himself. "He," says St. Peter (Acts x. 42), "charged us to preach unto the people, and to testify that this is He which is ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead."

Surely these considerations place before us in the strongest light the originality and independence of our Lord's teaching concerning Himself. They conclusively show that the attempt to trace it to contemporaneous thought and opinion is absolutely without any historical basis. The better we understand our Lord's teaching

\* James Drummond: *The Jewish Messiah*, p. 359; Stanton: *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, p. 123.

† In the Old Testament God always is the Judge. It is Jehovah who is coming to judge the world in righteousness. It is the advent of Jehovah to which psalmists and prophets look forward. But His coming is never identified with the coming of Messiah. It is in the New Testament that it is first plainly set forth that David's Son is David's Lord. See Perowne on the Psalms, vol. I, 54.

and the more exact our knowledge of His times, the more plainly will it appear that He can only be accounted for on the ground of His own claims to be the Incarnate Son of God.

## 2. The *Homogeneity* of Christ's teaching.

There can be plainly traced in our Lord's method of teaching a certain progressiveness. He did not at once communicate the whole of His message, but He imparted it little by little as His disciples were able to bear it. This is very noticeable, as has already been pointed out, in regard to His announcements of His Passion and death. This was certainly a reasonable method and just what we would expect in the case of the Wisest of all teachers.

But this advance in the Lord's teaching is often wrongly attributed to an advance in the Lord's own knowledge. It is alleged that He only came by degrees into full consciousness of His origin and nature; that only very gradually did the full meaning of His mission dawn upon Him and the certainty of its ending in His death.

It is frequently stated that our Lord first awoke to the consciousness of His Messiahship at His baptism; and that even then He did not clearly know what His Messiahship meant, or what it involved in suffering, shame and death.

Such a statement seems to be based on very insufficient grounds. Jesus grew in wisdom. Every child gradually wakens to the consciousness of itself. The Divine Child passed through a normal human development; He came by degrees to the full consciousness of Himself. How it advanced and when it became mature we are not told. A veil is cast over the marvelous process in the silent years of Nazareth. The one recorded incident discloses in the child's mind a supernatural elevation beyond the children of men. It was not precocious, but natural; but it was the nature of a supernatural Person of which the devotion and the knowledge are predicated. He shows the simplicity of a modest child along with the wisdom of One divinely taught and possessed, and above all the absolute submission, the pure unrestrained filial spirit which was the preëminent characteristic of His whole life.

Even Wendt admits that Jesus from childhood was clearly sensible of the Fatherly love of God and of His filial relationship toward Him, that He possessed a clearly thought-out general view of the normal relations of man to God, that indeed there never was a time when He did not know Himself as the Son of God.\* This is all we need claim.

\* Wendt: *Teaching of Jesus*, I, 96.

But out of our Lord's consciousness of His Sonship must have grown His consciousness of His Messiahship; and with it the true conception of God's Kingdom as spiritual and personal and not merely external and political. This consciousness must have been with Him during His life as a toiler at Nazareth. Nor is there any inconsistency, as Godet seems to think, between such a lofty consciousness and such humble labor. But rather we delight to trace such a contrast as is described by St. John when, "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands, and that He came forth from God and goeth unto God, . . . poureth water into the basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet."

It must have been with this consciousness of His Divine Sonship and under the guidance of the will of the Father that He went forth to John's baptism in order to fulfill all righteousness. It was with the full consciousness of His Messiahship that He went to the Jordan in order to consecrate Himself to His Messianic ministry, and to receive the seal of the Divine approval and the new and fuller baptism of the Spirit, which abode upon Him, remained with Him as His constant possession,\* and "enabled Him to say and do what was needful for His Messianic calling and what with ordinary human capacities He could not have attempted."†

Our Lord from the outset appears as absolutely Master of what He teaches. While He is obliged by the limitations of His hearers to restrict His communications, He Himself has before Him the whole compass of His message. He never presents the bearing of one who is feeling his way and is proceeding through perplexity and uncertainty to clearer and fuller knowledge and a stronger hold upon truth. On the contrary, at the very beginning He makes us feel that He is at home with His subject in all its breadth and compass. His first utterances are not only homogeneous with His latest, but they disclose that the Speaker gives them forth out of the fullness and certainty of His knowledge. Dr. Horton, who inclines to an evolutionary view of Christ's development, admits that "Jesus never had to restrict or even to modify what He said."‡

Whatever He said at any point in His ministry remains permanently valid. Progress there is, in the presentation of the truth; but the message itself is consistent and homogeneous throughout.

\* Westcott: *Commentary on John i.* 32.

† Weiss: *Life of Christ*, I, 327.

‡ Horton, *Teaching of Jesus*, p. 111.



There is no change discoverable, either in the plans or views of our Lord. From the outset He knew who He was, and what He had come to do, and how it was to be accomplished. The statement that He first sought to establish His kingdom in a regular and peaceful way by His teaching and example and works of mercy, and then when these means unexpectedly failed sought to turn to account the opposition He met and the sufferings He endured, and wrest, as by a forlorn hope, victory from defeat, is contradicted by the whole Gospel record.

### 3. The *Organic Completeness* of our Lord's Teaching Concerning Himself.

It is significant that the three prerogatives which our Lord claims correspond to His threefold office as the Christ. Revelation is the work for which the Prophet is set apart. Salvation is effected by sacrifice, to make which is the function of the Priest. To judge is the royal prerogative. The validity and completeness of the Messianic mission of Jesus is thus attested. Jesus is the Christ—the Anointed Prophet, Priest and King.

Moreover, these three prerogatives—to reveal, to redeem, to judge—belong to our Lord both as Son of Man and as Son of God. They are functions inseparable from His Divine-human nature. They are inherent in His personality. They are not offices which He might or might not assume; they belong inherently and absolutely to Him who is both Son of God and Son of Man.

On the one hand they belong to Him as Son of Man. There could be no revelation of the Father accessible to us except through One who possessed our nature and lived our life, and in that nature and life showed us the Father. No redemption could be achieved for us except by One who stood in our stead as our Representative. To seek and to save the lost the great Seeker must come in the form of a servant and be made in the likeness of man, and thus only can He serve and suffer for our redemption. And we are expressly told that it is because "He is the Son of Man that the Father hath given Him authority to execute judgment." The Judge, as Westcott says, must share the nature of those who are brought before Him. He knows what is in man, all his infirmities and temptations. He has a fellow-feeling with us, and will be a merciful as well as a righteous Judge.

On the other hand, it is only because He is the Son of God that He is able to exercise these high prerogatives, to discharge the great functions of His mission. Only He who is in the bosom of the Father, who knows God even as He knows Himself, can give us a



true and adequate revelation of the eternal. Only because He is the Son of God could the substitution of Himself for sinners, the innocent for the guilty, be just and righteous; and it was His Divine nature which gave infinite value to the ransom which He paid. Only the Son of God could truly judge His creatures, could reach the hearts of men, trace out unerringly their motives, and weigh the merit or demerit of every act and thought. Such searching and unerring judgment is beyond the powers of man. Only He who made us can thus know and weigh us and determine our destiny.

There is a unity and completeness in our Lord's teaching which may be fittingly called organic, because it is the exposition and manifestation of Himself. What our Lord teaches concerning His *Mission* confirms what He teaches concerning His *Person*. Together they constitute one magnificent and irresistible presentation of His claims. In them He repeats to us His great question, "Who say ye that I am?" What answer can we give? What answer can be given by any one who has humbly and sincerely sought to receive and understand His words? Is any other answer possible than that attested by the Christian consciousness through nineteen centuries?

Other answers have been attempted. The first denial of His Deity came from Arius, who apparently went so close to the Christian creeds that only an iota separated them. He exalted Jesus to the highest pinnacle of creaturehood, far above angels and arch-angels—One like unto God, but not God. And in doing this he stripped the Son of His true humanity as well as of His Deity. But Arianism could not live. It proved but a revived heathenism with its demi-god. It passed away forever.

Next came the answer of Socinus—Jesus is man, a man supernaturally born and endowed, the Virgin's son. But the miraculous birth must go. Modern Unitarianism makes Jesus man, no longer physically supernatural, but a perfect and sinless man. "I know not," said Channing, "what can be added to the wonder, reverence and love that belong to Jesus." But a sinless man is a miracle. How can this miracle be got rid of? Few have dared even to hint that Jesus was an impostor. Others affirm that He was a dreamer, or at least the creation of human dreams and aspirations. These answers are so crude, so self-contradictory, so preposterous, that unbelief stands confounded before the great problem of Christ's character and claims. These claims are so tremendous that if they are not true, He who made them falls far below the level of humanity. Dean Farrar truly says: "It should

be definitely understood that if Christ were not sinless and Divine He would be lower, not higher, than all who have lived holily on earth; for then His claims would be false, and His personality stained with the poor vice of self-satisfaction." Strauss admits that if Christ really advanced the claims which are set forth in the Gospels, he "should lose faith in His excellences as a man." These are remarkable words of Lessing: "If Christ is not truly God, then Mohammedanism was an undoubted improvement upon the Christian religion. Mahomet, on such a supposition, would indisputably have been far more veracious, more circumspect and more zealous for the honor of God." There is no escape from the great dilemma. Either we must cease to revere Christ as a good man or we must bow before Him in adoration and hail Him Lord of all. The appeal has been "Back to Christ." By this test we are prepared to abide. When St. Peter in answer to our Lord's challenge made his great confession, his faith rested upon convictions to which he was impelled by the facts of Christ's earthly life and the spiritual experiences it awakened in him. As Dr. Forrest has ably demonstrated, there is no contradiction between the historical and the spiritual; the latter to be real must rest upon the former. The experience of the Christian Church would be worthless were it not founded upon the great redemptive facts recorded in the Gospels. On the other hand, it is only in the light of a genuine spiritual experience that the facts themselves can be truly appreciated. Our right position is at the feet of the Christ. "Come to Me," He pleads; "learn of Me."

To the question of Nathanael, Philip's answer, "Come and see," presents at once the simplest and the profoundest apologetics. In a time of stress and conflict, when our Lord suggested "the possibility, yet the incredibility, of His desertion by the Twelve," it is St. Peter who replies, "To whom shall we go?" Admitting that there are difficulties, problems that perplex and confound us, to whom shall we carry them? Who will do more for us than Christ? Who will give us clearer guidance? As has been well said, "Simon Peter could stand with His Master in a minority. He accepts Christ, hard sayings and all. He looks at every hard saying in the light of Christ, not at Christ in the light of the hard saying."

Christ cannot fail us. Let us not fear to trust Him. "I am the Light of the world; he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the Light of Life." And that Light, we know, "shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

## II.

### THE WITNESS OF THE GOSPELS.\*

**M**R. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS:—It is with a deep sense of its responsibilities that I have accepted your call to the Chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis. In formally entering upon its duties I am conscious of the greatness of the work, its importance for the Church we serve and its close relation to the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It is my earnest desire that grace may be given me to be found faithful in the administration of the high trust which you have committed to my charge. I am well aware of its difficulties. They do not, however, weaken my conviction that in loyalty to the pledge which I have taken, in loyalty to the truth as it is given me to see it, in patient and honest investigation, they will provide opportunities for a deeper insight into the manifold wisdom of God.

With a painful appreciation of my own limitations and a keen feeling of my unworthiness to follow in the footsteps of those illustrious men of God, Dr. Charles Hodge, Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, Dr. Caspar Wistar Hodge and Dr. George Tybout Purves, who here served their Master and are now fallen asleep, I take encouragement both from your call and from the cordial support and sympathy which the Faculty of the Seminary have given me during the four years I have spent in pleasant and grateful association with them. When I first came among them, they were the men whom as a student I had learned to love and respect. Two have now departed. One, the noble scholar, learned instructor and devoutly Christlike man, the Rev. Dr. William Henry Green, who opened to me the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Following him likewise into his rest my friend and beloved teacher whose work I am now called to continue, the Rev. Dr. George Tybout Purves. At his feet I first learned to love with enthusiasm the New Testament of our Lord, and for one brief year I enjoyed the privilege

\* Inaugural address delivered before the Board of Directors of Princeton Theological Seminary in Miller Chapel on induction into the Chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis on Friday, September 18, 1903.

of sharing with him his plans, hopes and labors for this Chair. To his memory, which is blessed among the sons of Princeton Seminary, I gladly and from my heart pay a tribute of love and honor and gratitude, in recognition of his life of self-sacrifice and devotion and of his splendid scholarship, ever aglow with the warmth of close contact with life. His sympathies were wide, his labors unceasing, his ideals of Christian service the noblest and most unselfish, and these, with his enthusiasm for his work, springing from a strong conviction of its value, and his deep interest in men, made him a power for good to all those who knew him. He was always both a teacher and a preacher, teaching us to love truth and reverence it as the revelation of God. He knew its beauty, and might have exclaimed with the Jewish philosopher, *τὸ δ' οὐτως ἐν βίῳ καλὸν ὥς ἀληθινόν*.<sup>\*</sup> But he knew also that its relation to life was more vital than the satisfaction of the æsthetic sentiment, touching as it does the very springs of all truly moral and rational life. In seeking truth he taught us to seek God; to cherish every revelation that through it He might make to us; but chiefly to know, revere and trust the revelation which He has been pleased to make through His written Word and in His Son, and through its intimate appropriation to gain sustenance for our spirits, that we might realize in ourselves His purpose to the praise of the glory of His grace. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." To serve, to know, to love the truth, and thus to serve Christ and God, was the service of freedom which he taught us, and in his life he showed to us its joy. From such a memory I take inspiration as I face the possibilities of the future, thankful for the heritage which through him whom I was permitted to know has come down from the past, and cherishing the hope that the same spirit of loyal devotion to the truth as it is in Christ will continue with me during my work in Princeton Seminary.

I shall not attempt at this time to give an account of Dr. Purves' conduct of the New Testament Chair. One well qualified to speak, himself a New Testament scholar and a classmate and colleague of Dr. Purves, has, as the Faculty's representative, addressed you in commemoration of his services.† It is my desire, however, if only briefly, to make mention of them again. The relation which Dr. Purves sustained to Dr. Caspar Wistar Hodge is well known. For

<sup>\*</sup> *Philo de judice*, M. II, 346.

† An address delivered in Miller Chapel on November 26, 1901, by B. B. Warfield, D.D., LL.D. Cf. *The Bible Student*, Vol. iv, No. 6, December, 1901, pp. 310-323; Purves, *Faith and Life*, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1902, pp. ix-xxx.



eight years (1892-1900) he strove to maintain in the department of New Testament studies the same high standard of excellence which Dr. Hodge had established, and in the light of the progress of scientific investigation to deepen and broaden the foundations he had laid. By the inauguration in 1893 of a professor of Biblical Theology his work was divided, but in 1899 its needs had again become so pressing that an Instructor in the New Testament was appointed to give opportunity for the further enlargement which he planned.

To those who sat under Dr. Purves his controlling interest seemed to lie in the field of exegesis; and here he revealed careful and exact scholarship, sanity of judgment, thoroughness of method and forcefulness of presentation which made disciples of his pupils. And yet exegesis was with him always a means to an end. With true historical sense he sought by it to understand and interpret to his students the sources of early Christian history, while with this was united the deeper religious interest of one who had made his own the principles of the Protestant Reformation. Hence, while his chief interest and work was directed to the New Testament, he sought to study also with his students the historical environment in which it arose. Even before he came to this Chair, when invited to deliver the L. P. Stone lectures, he chose as his subject *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity*,\* thus revealing an interest and an insight into the historical problems surrounding the origin of Christianity which characterized in a marked degree his subsequent work. To this his articles and reviews† bear witness, as does also his admirable book entitled *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*.‡ He loved exegesis and he loved it as a teacher. To it in his classroom he gave himself with compelling intensity which kindled an abiding and commanding interest in the New Testament. Rightly to estimate its effect one must weigh the influence which has gone out through the lives of his students who, scattered throughout the world, bear testimony by their work to his power as a teacher. His work will endure, engraven as it is upon the hearts of the living, and for it Princeton Seminary may well be deeply thankful.

\* *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity*. Lectures delivered on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary in March, 1888. Randolph & Co., New York, 1889.

† Among others *The Presbyterian Review*, October, 1888, p. 529ff.: "The Influence of Paganism on Post-Apostolic Christianity"; *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1895, p. 239ff.: "The Formation of the New Testament"; *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 23ff.: "The Witness of Apostolic Literature to Apostolic History."

‡ *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.



It is fitting that I address you on some theme in the department of New Testament Literature and Exegesis. For purposes of lower criticism the New Testament falls naturally, by reason of the nature of the materials upon which we are dependent, into four sections: the Gospels, the Acts and Catholic Epistles, the Pauline Epistles with Hebrews, and the Apocalypse. Equally natural for purposes of historical study is the twofold division by which our principal sources for the history of the Church in the days of the apostles—the Acts, Epistles and the Apocalypse—constitute, because of their close interrelation, one group; while the Gospels, the chief sources for our knowledge of the life of Christ, may be treated as forming another group. This division, of course, is a broad one, and does not obscure the fact that a very close relation subsists between the Gospels on the one hand and the Acts and the Epistles on the other. The Acts and Epistles contribute much to our knowledge of the life of Christ; while the Gospels, regarded as literary products, fall within the history of the apostolic Church. But if the epistolary literature of the New Testament be in part earlier than the Gospels, and the Gospels fall within the history of the apostolic or post-apostolic Church, there emerges for the student of New Testament literature and exegesis a problem of some importance. Has the testimony of the Gospels been deflected, distorted or discolored by the environment in which they arose, and if so, to what extent? It is my purpose to face this problem, and to consider in some of its aspects the question of the trustworthiness of our Gospels as sources of our knowledge of the life of Christ; or, more briefly stated, my subject is “The Witness of the Gospels.” Such a subject may be approached from a number of viewpoints and discussed in many different ways. For my present purpose the discussion may be ordered under two principal lines of thought, namely, the character or nature of the Gospel witness, and its origin in relation to its value.

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE GOSPEL WITNESS.

The word Gospel (*εὐαγγέλιον*) means good news, though in Aramaic the root *בִּשְׂרָ* does not indicate so plainly as the Greek the kind of news.\* It occurs frequently both in the Epistles and in the Gospels, where it means a message rather than a book. In the Epistles and Acts it is used of the message which the apostles proclaimed concerning Christ; in the Gospels of the message of

\* Dalmann, *Die Worte Jesu*, S. 84.

Christ concerning the kingdom of God. The apostolic usage continued for some time, and lies at the basis of the titles given to our Gospels. The message concerning Christ was conceived as unitary, and hence the different Gospels were regarded as but different narratives by their several authors of the one Gospel. We have four such Gospels in the New Testament; and out of the differences and the agreements between them arise very intricate and difficult literary and historical problems. It is clear that the fourfold Gospel furnishes us with a twofold message concerning Christ; that of the three synoptics which, whatever be the cause, present the same general features, and that of John.

What are the chief characteristics of this twofold tradition concerning Christ? In order to ascertain them and properly to estimate it, it will be necessary to bear in mind several things. The Gospels are manifestly Christian documents. They were written to meet the needs of the Church, and like the apostolic Gospel-preaching they contain a message about Christ which is at the same time a witness to Christ. What effect this has on their value as trustworthy historical sources we shall consider later. Here it is important to note their close connection with the apostolic idea of the Gospel. In accordance with this, three characteristics of the Gospels in their twofold witness to Christ stand out distinctly: an account of the facts of Christ's life, including the environment in which He lived and the character of His teaching; a very distinct estimate of His person; the significant prominence given to His passion.

Of the synoptic Gospels only Matthew and Luke give the narrative of Christ's supernatural birth. Luke alone gives us a glimpse into the boyhood of our Saviour, and tells us of His normal development during the period previous to His entrance on His public ministry. All three agree in connecting His ministry with that of His forerunner, John the Baptist; and from this point on their representation is in broad outline the same. Matthew's arrangement, however, is topical, and Luke furnishes material not found in either Matthew or Mark. Matthew and Luke, moreover, give us a much fuller account of the teaching of Jesus. But the picture is the same in all. They represent John's work as prophetic and preparatory for the Messianic work of Jesus. After the baptism of Jesus, His temptation in the wilderness and the imprisonment of John, Jesus comes into Galilee. He takes up the call of John to repentance, and adds to it the call to belief in the Gospel which was His own proclamation of the kingdom of

God. We see Him moving through Galilee in a ministry of healing and teaching. He gathers about him a band of disciples; and the people flock to hear him, bringing their sick that He may heal them. In the midst of this popular enthusiasm we are struck by two things: the character of His teaching and His intentional avoidance of the Messianic title. He is training the people and His disciples to appreciate the spiritual character of the kingdom, and His avoidance of the Messianic title may have served simply a pedagogic purpose, or, as is more probable, it may have been practised by Jesus in the control which He exercised over the events of His public Messianic work. It is not long, however, before opposition from the religious leaders of the people, the Pharisees, arises, and the enthusiasm of the people begins to wane. The opposition found its occasion in the neglect by Jesus and His disciples of the Sabbath customs; but this only served to make clear the opposition in principle between the two forms of religious life thus brought into conflict. The legalism which had become all-pervading in the religious life of the nation found itself face to face in the person of Jesus with the denial of its *raison d'être*, and through its accredited representatives it was logically compelled to crush Him. "It was expedient that one man should die for the people."\*

From this time Jesus began to devote Himself to the instruction of His disciples, with a view to preparing them for the issue which He foresaw. He continued to speak to the people, but He spoke in parables, while in His relations with His disciples He seems to have been intent upon deepening in them a clear and abiding insight into the significance of His own person for the kingdom which He had been proclaiming. The Pharisees meantime had taken council with the Herodians to kill Him. News of His work had reached Herod; and the feeding of the five thousand had made plain the fact that the old Messianic ideal still controlled the popular mind. Jesus turns now to His disciples. At Cæsarea Philippi He calls forth by His question the confession of Peter. From this time on he seeks to make clear to them that He must suffer and after three days rise from the dead. Jerusalem is now His goal; and here, after having given His disciples further instructions regarding the future and having come into conflict with the Jewish leaders, He is crucified by order of the Roman Procurator, and on the third day rises again.

In the Gospel of John the course of the narrative is somewhat differently ordered. Just as in the synoptic Gospels, Jesus at the

\* John xviii. 14.

opening of His ministry is brought into contact with John the Baptist. Here the fourth Gospel adds the testimony of John to Jesus, and tells of a work of Jesus in Jerusalem, Galilee and Judea previous to the imprisonment of John the Baptist. Withdrawing through Samaria He comes into Galilee, but concerning the length of His stay and the nature of His work there we learn little. What strikes us at once in this account of the early ministry of Jesus is not so much the additional information which places the beginning of Christ's ministry earlier than the time mentioned by the synoptics, nor the fact that its scene lies chiefly in and about Jerusalem, but the difference in method. The Messianic claim is here openly witnessed to by John Christ Himself by cleansing the temple publicly assumes the function of the Messiah, and in His conversation with the woman of Samaria distinctly asserts His Messiahship. His words in the temple\* and His conversation with Nicodemus make it clear, moreover, that even at this early time He looked forward to His passion as involved in His Messianic work. Passing over much of the work in Galilee, the fourth Gospel tells us of the beginning of the conflict between Jesus and the rulers in Judea, the question as in the synoptics being the violation of the Sabbath or the fundamental antagonism between Jesus and legalism. In the sixth chapter the fourth Gospel joins the synoptics in the narrative of the feeding of the five thousand. John tells us that Jesus walked in Galilee, for he was unwilling to walk in Judea because the Jews sought to kill Him.† With his interest in the ministry of Jesus at Jerusalem, John tells us of Jesus' visit to the city at the Feast of Tabernacles, and again at the Feast of Dedication. The resurrection of Lazarus constitutes a crisis in Jesus' relation to the leaders at Jerusalem, and from this time on, after the withdrawal to Ephraim, Jesus sets His face to Jerusalem and the last Passover. As in the synoptic Gospels, so in the Gospel of John, Jesus is represented as performing wonderful works of healing. In both He raises the dead. So also in regard to the teaching of Jesus. In both He is a teacher, though the character of the teaching preserved in the two traditions differs markedly both in form and content. In the synoptic Gospels the teaching of Jesus centres chiefly around the kingdom, its character and the conditions of entrance. The form for the most part is gnomic or parabolic. In the fourth Gospel the teaching of Jesus centres about His own person, His relation to God and His own significance for the kingdom which He

\* John ii. 19.

† John vii. 1.



was founding. The form is closely related to the nature of the themes discussed, and is thus more theological—informed by direct intuition of spiritual realities.

But beside the general environment in which Jesus' ministry of healing and teaching is set, the Gospel witness contains also an estimate of His person. From the sketch given of the Gospel witness to the character of Christ's ministry, there can be little doubt that the Gospels represent it as Messianic and Christ as the Messiah. Whether Christ Himself claimed to be the Messiah has indeed been questioned, and recently denied by Wrede,\* but, as it seems to me, without good ground.† Here, however, we are concerned simply with the fact that the Gospels so represent Him; and for the present we may leave open the question of His own claim. In Matthew and Luke the genealogies trace Christ's line of descent through David. His birth in Bethlehem, the city of David, is significant to Matthew because of its Messianic associations, while Luke connects Christ's birth there directly with the fact that Joseph was of the house of David. In fact, in both Matthew and Luke the whole infancy narrative is controlled by the thought that in this child the long-expected, prophetically proclaimed Messiah had come. The prophetic message is taken up by John the Baptist; and the baptism of Jesus, whatever else it may have meant, certainly, according to the Gospel narrative, signified for Jesus the voluntary assumption of His Messianic work; while the temptation which followed this baptism is represented as a trial of the Messiah in view of His office and prospective work. In His temptation Jesus as the Messiah relates Himself specifically to His future Messianic work by maintaining His loyalty to the spirit of dependence on God, of filial obedience and trust, in which He was determined to fulfill the work to which in the baptism He had just consecrated Himself. However much He may have charged secrecy on those who recognized in Him the Messiah, He nowhere disavows the title. He accepts the confession of Peter; He calls Himself frequently the Son of Man; He is called the Son of David, the Son of God; and by His triumphal entry into Jerusalem He most publicly proclaims His Messianic dignity. In the fourth Gospel the testimony of John the Baptist to the Messiahship of Jesus is given explicitly; and Jesus Himself, from the very opening of His public ministry in Jerusalem, makes definite and distinct claim to be the Messiah.

\* *Das Messiasgeheimnis*. 1901.

† Cf. O. Holtzmann, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1901, and *Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wiss.*, 1901, S. 265; J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, 1903.



This representation, in fact, lies so plainly upon the face of the Gospels that it will not be necessary to treat it in detail.

It is important, however, for our conception of this aspect of the Gospel witness to notice, that the character of the Messianic work which Christ performed is intimately bound up with what He was, or with what He is represented by the Gospels to have been. While He came as the Messiah, He did not fulfill His work in the manner popularly expected. His work was through and through self-determined, the conscious carrying out of a purpose definitely formed. Back of His work stands the volition of a person dependent only on God. He is represented distinctly as the creator of His work, never as its product, the child of circumstance; and this is the representation in the synoptic Gospels as well as in John. It is true that we do find adjustment of His work and teaching to the changes which took place in His surroundings during His public ministry, but never a departure from His controlling purpose nor an alteration in the character of His work. It is consistently determined throughout in the interest of moral and spiritual renovation. Hence the central place of His person in His whole work and teaching. In the synoptic Gospels emphasis is laid at first on His message, but it is ever His message through which, by its very character, the dignity of His person and His authority clearly appear. In John's Gospel the determining relation which Christ sustained to His Messianic work is characteristic. From this point it is now not difficult to understand the transcendent significance which the Gospels assign to the person of Christ.

In the opening chapters of the first and third Gospels we find the narratives of His supernatural birth. It is often affirmed that they belong to the secondary strata of Gospel tradition; but here again we are concerned with the representation of our Gospels as they stand; and this must be distinguished from the further questions as to how they came to give such a representation and what value, in view of its origin and character, we may allow to it in forming our view of the actual occurrence. The fact that two of the Gospels contain such narratives constitutes them a part of the Gospel witness and cannot be without significance for its representation of the nature of Christ's person. As we watch the progress of His ministry in the synoptic Gospels, we are impressed by the power which He exercises in the performance of miracles, by the authority with which He speaks, by the spotless purity of His life, by a consciousness in which no trace of a sense of sin can be found, which acknowl-

edges its dependence on God, but knows Him in intimate, unbroken communion. At the request of His disciples He teaches them to pray, embodying in their prayer the petition "forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors"; but in His own prayer-life He does not associate Himself with them. Twice He is represented as the recipient of direct testimony from heaven—at the baptism and on the Mount of Transfiguration. He claims that He is greater than the temple. As He stands before the high priest He not only definitely asserts His Messiahship, but asserts for Himself the prerogative of a seat at the right hand of power—an assertion at once interpreted by His auditors as blasphemy.\* Finally, on the third day, He rises from the dead, and after being seen by His disciples, He ascends to heaven. In view of this representation of the course of His ministry and characteristics of His life, there can be little doubt that underlying their representation of the Messiahship of Jesus there is a deeper and more fundamental estimate of His person, which conceived of Him as by nature sustaining a unique relation to God and thus, in respect of being, the Son of God. The Messianic implications of this term should not obscure to us the fact that in the Gospels there is this deeper meaning given to it which does not always appear, but which is bound up with their account of who this Messianic Son of God really was.

In the fourth Gospel this view of the transcendent significance of Christ's person is not merely the view of the author of the Gospel. It is represented also as that to which Christ in His whole activity of miracle-working and teaching bears witness. The prologue of the Gospel begins with an account of the pre-existent Logos, describing His relation to God as direct and immediate,† and His essential nature as divine. Then follows an account of His activity, His incarnation and the witness of John the Baptist, together with that of the author. The identification of the Logos with Jesus Christ, concerning whom the fourth Gospel is written, is made in ver. 14. Whatever be the source of the form of the Logos-doctrine—whether it came to John from Philo's doctrine of the Logos or from the Jewish Memra—John has given to it a content distinctively his own by connecting it directly with the historical person of Jesus Christ. It was, moreover, well adapted to convey his idea, for it cannot escape us that what John is here intent upon emphasizing is not simply the divine origin of the person of Jesus

\* Mark xiv. 61f.

† The preposition *πρός* suggesting the idea of mutual intercourse between persons (Aall, *Gesch. der Logosidee*, II, S. 111).

Christ—the description of Him as a unique pre-existent divine being standing in closest relation of loving complacency to God, and in the ultimate character of His being, God; but with this also the idea of His revelation-character as the mediator of true knowledge concerning God. As between finite spirits the word performs a most important function in common intercourse, so in the revelation of God to men which John describes as light, the mediator was the word incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ—for the enlightening work of revelation made sufficient by His relation both to God and to men. Of both He had intimate knowledge, being with God in the bosom of His Father and being God—being also the agent in Creation and the light of men. For this conception John had, beside the natural basis in the spiritual significance of the word as a means of communion, also the fact that the Old Testament Scriptures were to him the word of God\*—possibly also before John wrote the designation “word of God” (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ) had been applied to the Gospel message†—while Philo, following the Greek philosophers, especially Heraclitus, gave it a prominent place in his system of thought. John, however, by identifying the eternal Logos, conceived not abstractly as wisdom or reason but personally, with the incarnate Christ, gives to it its peculiar Christian content. For though Philo sometimes personified the Logos, it meant with him an abstract conception without Messianic associations, certainly without definite identification of the Logos with the Messiah.‡ Whether John was the first to make this identification or not we do not know. It has been urged that the way in which the Gospel opens suggests that the connection of the Logos with Christ had already been made. The Logos-doctrine was certainly current. Hence, John does not affirm there is a Logos, and this Logos is Christ. He seems intent rather upon defining its content or fixing the predicates which, in view of the identification which had been made or which he proposed to introduce, could under it be made of Christ. §

That the prologue of the fourth Gospel gives us the idea of its author about Christ is rendered certain from the first Epistle of John. || Is this, however, the view which obtains throughout the Gospel? Opinions differ as to the relation of the prologue to the

\* Cf. x. 35, v. 38. Cf. also Heb. iv. 12; 1 Peter i. 2; James i. 18.

† Holtzmann, *Handkommentar*, S. 32; Weizsäcker, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, S. 32; Harnack, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1892, S. 223<sup>1</sup>.

‡ Aall, *Geschichte der Logosidee*, I, S. 213f.; II, S. 110. 146<sup>2</sup>.

§ Cf. Harnack, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1892, S. 222f.

|| i. 1-4. Cf. also Apoc. xix. 13.

rest of the Gospel. On the one hand, it is said to contain the key to the Gospel, being a summary or the quintessence of the Gospel. The Gospel would thus appropriately be called the Logos-Gospel, and the Christ whom it portrays the Logos-Christ. The Gospel has, according to this view, been constructed under the influence of an idea, its whole narrative being controlled by and in explication of this idea.\* On the other hand, the prologue is said to constitute only the introduction to the Gospel, the Logos-doctrine being dropped after the eighteenth verse. "The prologue of the Gospel," says Harnack,† "is not the key to the understanding of the Gospel, but rather prepares the Greek readers for this. It takes up a known thing (Grösse), the Logos, works it over and reshapes it, attacking implicitly false Christologies, in order to substitute for it Jesus Christ, the μονογενὴς θεός, or rather to disclose it as this Jesus Christ. When this has been accomplished, from that moment on the Logos-idea is dropped. The author tells only of Jesus for the purpose of grounding the faith that He is the Messiah, the Son of God." One thing is clear: John does not place in the mouth of Jesus the *terminus technicus* of the Logos-doctrine. For though the term Logos recurs frequently in the Gospel, both in the narrative portions and in the words of Jesus, in no instance after the prologue is it used in the technical sense which it there has. From this it would appear that the author knew how to distinguish between his own thought about Jesus and the words of Jesus which he records. The two, it is true, are often very closely related, especially in respect of form, and John frequently intentionally adds to the words of Jesus words of his own.‡ It would be wrong, however, to infer from this that the prologue stood in no close relation to what follows. The dropping of the technical use of ὁ λόγος is significant, but chiefly from a formal point of view. In the prologue the term Logos is a central unifying idea, under which a number of ideas are subsumed which give it its content—ideas such as life, light, truth and the relation of the personal Logos to God and

\* Baur, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker and Schmiedel.

† *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1892, S. 230f: Der Prologue des Evangeliums ist nicht der Schlüssel zum Verständniss des Evangeliums. Sondern er bereitet die hellenischen Leser auf dieses vor. Er knüpft an eine bekannte Grösse, den Logos, an, bearbeitet ihn und gestaltet ihn um—falsche Christologien implicite bekämpfend—um ihm Jesus Christus, den μονογενὴς θεός, zu substituieren resp. ihn als diesen Jesus Christus zu enthüllen. Von dem Momente an, wo dies geschehen ist, ist der Logosbegriff fallen gelassen. Der Verfasser erzählt nur noch von Jesus, um den Glauben zu begründen, dass er der Messias, der Sohn Gottes sei.

‡ Cf. also I Cor. xi. 26.



to the world. These ideas, however, recur in the subsequent description. On the other hand, the view which finds in the prologue the formative idea of which the Gospel is simply an elaboration cast in the form of history, rests on a particular theory regarding the origin of the prologue. If the prologue be the result of reflective speculation cast in the form of the Alexandrian philosophy, then the Gospel must likewise be interpreted as ideal history. This, however, unduly exalts the purely formal side and has to face the fact, that the central and controlling idea, as technically formulated in the term *ὁ λόγος*, plays no part in the subsequent narrative. If we banish the background of history from the prologue, they are most logical who banish it also from the Gospel.\* Another account of the origin of the prologue will enable us to do greater justice to the Gospel as it stands complete together with the prologue. We will seek its genesis in the history which follows—a history which had long been the cherished tradition of the Church; which had already found written expression in the synoptic Gospels, of which Matt. xi. 27f. was an integral part; and thus ultimately in the person of Jesus Himself. In the history which follows we find that Christ is identified with His gifts. He is Life and Light and Truth. As in the synoptics, He works miracles and is distinctly declared to be the Messiah. He receives the Spirit at His baptism, and bears the titles Son of Man and Son of God. His heavenly origin constitutes one of the features of John's Gospel. In dependence on God, who had sent Him, and therefore making God's will the inner law of His life, He is yet conscious of unity with God—"I and the Father are one."† Here, then, even more clearly than in the synoptic Gospels, I think we shall find underlying the whole witness of the fourth Gospel to Christ not merely the Messianic idea, but with it also the deeper conception of the real nature of Christ's person to which the prologue bears unmistakable testimony. And this not simply as the view of the author. It is represented as that to which Christ Himself bears witness in word and work.

The third characteristic of the Gospel witness to which I desire to call attention is the prominence given in all our Gospels to the passion of Jesus. In itself it is so apparent as scarcely to require proof. If we take Cæsarea Philippi as marking the time when the

\* The one view destroys the significance of the prologue, the other destroys the significance of the rest of the Gospel.

† John x. 30; cf. Lütgert, "Die johanneische Christologie," *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, III, 1899.



passion-idea explicitly emerges in the synoptic Gospels, though there are traces of it earlier,\* we shall find that in Matthew chapters xvi. 21-xxviii. 20, in Mark chapters viii. 31-xvi. 8, and in Luke chapters ix. 22-xxiv. 53, or about half of the synoptic Gospels, are devoted to this period; or if we take the arrival of Jesus in Bethany before the last Passover as the actual beginning of the passion-narratives, we find ourselves in the synoptic Gospels at Matt. xxvi, Mark xiv and Luke xxii; or if we begin with Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem, at Matt. xxi, Mark xi and Luke xix. 28f. In the fourth Gospel the passion idea appears at the very beginning (ii. 19), and in chapter xii Jesus is in Bethany six days before the last Passover. The details of this period in Christ's life are more numerous, and with the exception of the feeding of the five thousand, which constituted the Galilean crisis, it is the only period for which we have four parallel sources. We have already noticed how soon both in the synoptic narratives and in that of John the leaders begin to plot His death.

My purpose in calling attention to this fact is to seek from it the light which it should throw on the character of the Gospel witness. Being a marked and characteristic feature, it cannot be without significance for our idea of this witness, which must in turn affect our conception of the nature of the Gospels. It will be important, therefore, to notice that the passion-narrative of the Gospels, both in its prophetic announcement and in its subsequent realization, has a twofold issue. The passion of which the Gospels tell us is suffering and death followed by resurrection. It is represented, moreover, as the passion of Him whom, in their whole narrative, they declare to have been the Messiah. The passion is accepted by Him voluntarily in the fulfillment of His Messianic work, and is therefore set forth by them as an integral part, the culmination of that work. Jesus is to them the Messiah, realizing His work through suffering and crowned with victory by the resurrection. His death follows as the result of His consistent adherence throughout His public ministry to the principles which determined His work and made it what it was. Hence its fundamental significance and hence the prominence which is assigned to it in the Gospel witness.

But what was there in the nature of Christ's work which thus made His death an integral part of it? Was it simply that His teaching differed from that of the religious leaders of Israel, that it exhibited a fundamental opposition to their legalism, and that

\* Cf. Mark ii. 20.

His death was the result of unfavorable circumstances, like that of many a reformer? Or is there a deeper reason lying in the nature of His Messianic work? Such a reason is not fully formulated in the Gospels, but we may find a hint of it in their connecting of Christ's work with sin. John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus, preached a baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins (Mark i. 4), and proclaimed the coming of the Messiah, who should baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire. Jesus began to preach in Galilee, saying, "Repent and believe in the Gospel," and throughout His ministry He is represented as having authority to forgive sins.\* In Mark x. 45 we read, "For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many,"† the idea of ransom (λύτρον) being most naturally connected through that of sacrifice with sin. In the Gospel of John we find in the testimony of the Baptist to Jesus the words, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!"‡ In most of these instances Christ's relation to sin is represented as one of personal authority over it. To the passage in Matthew (Matt. xx. 28) which connects this with His death should be added the words uttered by Christ at the institution of the Supper on the eve of His death (Matt. xxvi. 27f.): "And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins."§ These hints are sufficient to establish the fact that Christ's Messianic work had reference to sin, and that in it as thus conceived His death played an important part. If Jesus spoke of His sufferings beforehand to ears hard of understanding, the Gospels give clear evidence that His words were not forgotten in circles where the memory of the past was faithfully cherished, and that His suggestions as to the relation of His sufferings to sin were not neglected.||

The results of our analysis of the character of the Gospel witness may be briefly summed up. It tells us of Jesus of Nazareth; how He lived and wrought and taught in Jerusalem and Galilee. It tells us that this Jesus was the Christ, the Messiah. It tells us that He sustained a unique relation to God by nature and not by His Messianic work only. It tells us that He suffered and rose again. It gives to His sufferings an important place in the nar-

\* Mark ii. 5f.; cf. also Matt. i. 21, Luke i. 77, vii. 47, xxiv. 47.

† Cf. Matt. xx. 28; John x. 11.

‡ John i. 29.

§ Mark and Luke do not have *εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*

|| Cf. Luke xxiv. 47, and in opening chapters of Acts.

rative of His work, and suggests a connection between His work and the forgiveness of sin. The period covered by this witness is chiefly that of the public ministry of Jesus; only Matthew and Luke giving glimpses of His infancy, while John gives a vision of the eternal background from which Christ came to take up His Messianic work. But John, like the synoptists, is concerned to trace this work only from its official assumption by Jesus.

From these facts we may draw certain conclusions about the nature of the Gospels which contain the witness. They are manifestly not intended to be biographies or to furnish us with a scientific life of Jesus. They are rather witnesses to the life and work of Jesus, chiefly during His public ministry. What is narrated beyond this—the infancy narratives in Matthew and Luke and the prologue in John—has distinct reference to it. They are thus witnesses to the person and work of Jesus as Founder of the Christian religion, to the facts and forces which centred in the person from whom it took its origin. They were written by men who were Christians and are thus essentially Christian documents. Drawing either from their own immediate knowledge or from the sources which were accessible to them, these men wrote the Gospel narratives primarily for the Church and for the purpose of confirming faith.\* So far as their narratives are history, therefore, they wrote history with a religious motive or purpose. They wrote for faith, and in the interest of the faith which they shared. This faith may have been without basis in fact; but as we can scarcely charge the evangelists with intention to deceive, we must, on the hypothesis of deception, hold that they were themselves unconsciously deceived. Where, then, shall we seek the cause of this deception—in Jesus or in the evangelists? And if there be deception, to what extent has it affected their narrative? Does it extend to the narrative of fact—for much of which we have only their testimony, which in turn is part of their belief—or does it extend simply to their estimate of Christ's person, or again, does it extend only to the miraculous? If we are successfully to separate the trustworthy and the untrustworthy in their witness, we must have some sure canon of criticism to guide us. The first condition, however, of fair criticism is a fair estimate of what the Gospels are, as the only safe ground from which to estimate their value. To set up an arbitrary standard and judge them deficient because they do not conform to it is to condemn them without a hearing, and must result in an altogether unfair estimate of their real significance.

\* Luke i. 4, John xx. 30.

Being what they are, can we trust their witness? This raises for us another line of thought which I propose to consider in one of its aspects. Since much will depend in our answer to this question on the view we take of the way in which the Gospel witness came to be what it is, it is important to treat briefly the origin of this witness in relation to its value.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GOSPEL WITNESS IN ITS BEARING ON THE  
VALUE OF THAT WITNESS.

This genetic question cannot be thoroughly discussed apart from the question of the origin of the documents in which this witness is contained; and this in turn involves the intricate problem of their mutual relations. The neglect of this feature was one of the chief defects of the pre-Tübingen criticism of the Gospels, and, strangely enough, is characteristic likewise of the neo-Tübingen criticism of the Gospels by Prof. Schmiedel. Into the details of the origin of the Gospels it will not be possible to enter now. In general, two questions may be distinguished; the when and the how, or the time and the manner of origin. Concerning the former, I shall assume the second half of the first century as a fact sufficiently established by historical criticism and widely recognized; I shall assume also that the synoptic Gospels are earlier than the fourth Gospel. Concerning the latter, I shall be compelled to limit myself to the single problem of the influence of environment or purpose on the general product called the witness of the Gospel whose character I have just discussed.

That the witness of the Gospels purports to be historical will scarcely be denied. Opinions may differ as to the extent of its historicity. In case historicity be denied *in toto*, then some satisfactory account must be given not only of how it came into existence, but also of how it obtained such wide and early acceptance. In case varying degrees of historicity be allowed, some satisfactory canon for separating what is true from what is false in its representation must be established. The first possibility may, I think, be neglected. The Gospels reflect too plainly the political, geographical, social and religious situation of the first century for historical criticism ever successfully to deny that historical elements were woven into their very structure. Historical persons known to us from other sources appear in these pages and each in his own character and place. Hence from early times, among those who have given the subject serious consideration, critical opinion has either accepted their witness as trustworthy



or, on the premise of partial historicity, sought to determine how much is historical.

The early Fathers—who are sometimes spoken of contemptuously as deceived deceivers,\* while again the pre-Eusebian age receives high praise as being almost as familiar as we are with the higher criticism in both its forms, historical as well as literary†—accepted the Gospel witness as trustworthy. Papias wrote a Commentary on the Gospels, adding in exposition of them traditions of a trustworthy kind from disciples of the Lord. Justin Martyr made extensive use of them. His disciple, Tatian, used the four Gospels in constructing a harmony. From the time of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, they were extensively used, not only as trustworthy, but as the authoritative court of appeal in argument with opponents. But even at this time there were not wanting those who denied the complete trustworthiness of the Gospel witness. Some of the Gnostic sects accepted one of the Gospels, some another (Iren., c. h. iii, 11, 7). Marcion in particular received only Luke, whose text he subjected to critical purification on the ground that it had been corrupted by the Church in the interest of its doctrine. Marcion's text thus subjectively reconstructed found favor for a time with a number of modern scholars, such as Ritschl, Baur and Schweigler, who claimed for it priority to our text; while van Manen posits for Marcion's Luke and our Luke a common source. Within the Tübingen School, however, exception to Baur's view was taken by Volkmar and Hilgenfeld; while Dr. Sanday‡ has pointed out that in those passages of Luke which are not found in Marcion's Gospels there are found the same characteristics of style and diction which mark the body of the Gospel common to Marcion and the supposed Catholic enlargement. But if the principle which underlies Marcion's attack on the text of Luke be discredited, then his rejection of the other Gospels can have little weight in our estimate of them. Among the later Fathers, Augustine and Chrysostom gave attention principally to the interrelation of the Gospels; and during the mediæval and Reformation periods likewise the historico-genetic problem received no adequate discussion. Signs of a change began to appear in the French scholar R. Simon (+1712) and in Semler (+1791) of Halle. In 1828 Paulus sought in his *Leben Jesu* to apply the principles of

\* Corssen, "Monarch. Prologue," *T. u. U.*, XVII, S. 109, n. 1. Cf. Jülicher, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1896, S. 841f.

† Bacon, "The Johannine Problem," *Hibbert Journal*, 1903, p. 179.

‡ *The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 204ff.

rationalism to the interpretation of the Gospels, explaining the miracles as due to natural causes. Here must also be mentioned Bretschneider, who in his *Probabilia* (1820) attacked the historicity of the fourth Gospel. About this time Schleiermacher was lecturing in Berlin on the life of Christ (1819, edition 1864). But though he held the fourth Gospel to be more homogeneous than the synoptic Gospels, which were in his opinion fragmentary aggregates wanting in chronological arrangement,\* and thus assigned to the fourth Gospel an important rôle in his constructive work, he still exercised an *a priori* criticism of the contents of the Gospels, rejecting much of the miraculous† and explaining the rest in a manner much akin to the rationalism of Paulus.‡ This period was brought to a close and the impetus for a new discussion of our theme was given by the appearance in 1835 of Strauss' *Leben Jesu*.

In this book Strauss sought to ground his rejection of the Gospel witness by a theory of mythical origin. The Christ of the Gospels was the creation of the imagination of the Church; the myths concerning Him, having grown during the period of oral transmission, were embodied in the Gospels. The advance made by Strauss consists in his adding to the rejection of miracle or its rationalizing explanation a theory to explain the origin of the content of the Gospels. The Messianic idea furnished a starting-point, a motive, and the mythical imagination of the Church created the Christ of the Gospels. It cannot escape us that what we have in our Gospels, according to this criticism, is ideal history, or history written under the formative influence of an idea. There is thus a manifest purpose or tendency. Strauss called the product myth rather than legend, and did not attempt any careful separation of the historical minimum underlying it. His criticism of the content of the Gospels gave, however, no satisfactory account of the Gospels, § and though in the new edition of his *Leben Jesu*|| he adopted the general results of the Tübingen criticism, he still showed little appreciation of or historical insight into their character and origin.

Baur and his school, though still making the impossibility of miracle an axiom of historical criticism, sought to understand the Gospels as literary products of the first two centuries. When so regarded the Gospels are seen to reflect the conditions

\* *Leben Jesu*, S. 401.

† The supernatural birth, S. 51, and ascension, S. 500.

‡ The resurrection explained by lethargy, S. 413f

§ Cf. Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, S. 348.

|| 1864.

under which they were written, thus furnishing us with an objective standard for separating the earlier elements from the perverting influence of a later time. In the application of such a standard it is manifestly of the highest importance to fix accurately the forces and characteristics of the apostolic and post-apostolic ages of the Church's history. Fundamental and determining for this, in Baur's view, was the division of the Church into two antagonistic parties—the Jewish-Christian or particularistic party, with the original apostles and James at its head, and the Pauline or universalistic party, with Paul and his followers at its head. The opposition between the two parties was at first bitter, but gradually grew less and less until, under the pressure of heresy from within and persecution from without, the two were merged into the early Catholic Church. The literary remains of the first two centuries reflect this controversy in its different stages, and hence the necessity of determining the tendency of a document in order to ascertain its date and relative historicity. In the hands of this criticism our Gospels became party documents, Matthew representing the Jewish Christian, Luke the Pauline party, Mark, according to Baur, representing a later conciliatory stage, while John brought into synthetic unity earlier elements by regarding them from a higher plane. Where the idea or tendency was not consistently carried through, traces of redaction were discovered.

Baur's results have been modified by his followers, and Ritschl, at one time a disciple of Baur, has pointed out that Baur gave to Jewish Christianity an undue significance for the development of the apostolic and post-apostolic Church, the literary evidence demanding rather the view that Gentile Christianity was its constructive and organizing factor. The Dutch school, moreover, following the eccentric results of Bruno Bauer, but by a different method, reject entirely the Hegelian conception of development by antithesis which underlies Baur's whole theory, and substitute for it that of a gradual development from the simple and homogeneous to the heterogeneous and complex; they thus invert the order of the second and third stages in Baur's theory. Wider knowledge of early Christian literature has also necessitated an earlier dating of our Gospels, thus introducing uncertainty into a system which determines this under the influence of *a priori* categories. The tendency criticism of the Gospels, which regarded them as party documents, being bound up with a particular theory of the development of the Church in the apostolic and post-apostolic ages, and having no greater stability than the

theory of which it was a part, failed to supply an adequate norm for separating the trustworthy from the untrustworthy elements in the Gospel witness. It was not strange, therefore, that, becoming skeptical of *a priori* systems, criticism turned its attention to the Gospels themselves, and sought by literary analysis to discover their sources. Recognizing that the Gospels were products of the apostolic age, it was seen that whatever influence the environment in which they were written may have had on them, the materials from which they were composed must have come from an earlier time. The fixity of form which, with all their variations, characterizes the synoptic Gospels could not but commend this method, and at the same time it focused attention on these Gospels as the field in which sure results might be most certainly expected. The synoptic problem, which is by no means new, thus received a new prominence at the hands, among others, of Weizsäcker, Holtzmann and B. Weiss, and more recently of Wernle. Similarly also the fourth Gospel has been subjected to a like method of treatment by Wendt.

That the evangelists were students of Gospel history before they became contributors will scarcely be denied by those who admit any basis of fact in their narratives. Those, therefore, who were not eye-witnesses must have gained their information about the facts which they narrate indirectly, either through oral or through written sources. That this was the case may be seen quite clearly in the prologue to the third Gospel, where the author tells us of (the status of his subject at the time of writing, mentioning the work of his predecessors, his own investigation, the standard which he has adopted, and finally speaking of his purpose in writing. We thus learn then that the author of the third Gospel had predecessors, with whose work he was most probably acquainted, but that for him, as for them, the normative source guaranteeing the trustworthiness of the narrative was the *παρέδοσαν* of those who from the beginning were *αὐτόπται καὶ ὁπηρεῖται* . . . τοῦ λόγου.\* But granting (the use of sources both written and oral, the determination of these must remain very largely hypothetical. In broad outline an agreement may be reached; but with little to guide us save a comparative induction, conclusions as to details depending so largely on the personal equation will remain uncertain. Dr. Weiss' "apostolic source" impresses others as a torso without natural beginning or satisfactory ending. Holtzmann held one theory of the Urmarkus

\* Zahn's inference that the prologue excludes the knowledge on Luke's part of a Gospel written by an apostle seems to me justified (*Einleitung*, II, S. 364).



source, Weizsäcker another. Eventually Holtzmann withdrew the Urmarkus theory altogether.\* Wernle posits an original Greek Logia source, coming from the circle of the original apostles, used by both Matthew and Luke. Before it reached Matthew, however, it had passed through the hands of a number of redactors ( $Q^1$ ,  $Q^2$ ,  $Q^3$ ), one of whom ( $Q^J$ ) gave to it its Judaistic tone.† In the fourth Gospel, where we have no comparative results to direct us, the separation of its sources is even more problematical; while the manifest unity in diction and style leaves such an analysis without formal support in the Gospel.

If, however, such an analytic study of the Gospels should not only discover for us the fact that there are sources lying back of and imbedded in our Gospels, but should also, in a measure, determine what they are in general and their history, the problem of separating the trustworthy from the untrustworthy in the Gospel witness will have been pushed but one step further back. The deflecting influence may have been introduced by the evangelists, and if so, we shall have solved the problem when we have identified and set aside so much of their contribution as served this end. Or the deflecting influence may have found its way into the sources before they reached the evangelists, and if so, it must be eliminated. Then the residuum will constitute the Gospel witness in its purity. Such a separation cannot, however, be carried through, either in the Gospels or in their sources, without some principle of discrimination. This may be sought either objectively, after the manner of Baur, in the history of which the Gospels form a part; or subjectively, in some idea which shall furnish us with the key to the problem. Faith in a particular solution of the synoptic problem underlies the one form, skepticism in regard to any solution of it the other.

Weizsäcker, who has contributed materially to the study of the synoptic Gospels in his advocacy of the two-document hypothesis, conceives of the sources of these Gospels as products of the early Jerusalem Church. In this environment, the centre of living tradition about the life and teaching of Christ, the sources of the Gospels grew, and, before the destruction of Jerusalem, had taken on so fixed a form that the authors of the Gospels introduced very few changes into them, the composition of the Gospels falling after the creative period in the history of the Gospel tradition. To understand the Gospels we must under-

\* *Einleitung*, S. 350.

† *Die syn. Frage*, S. 231.

stand the growth of their sources, and this must be studied in the environment from which they came, the early Jerusalem Church. Such a study will, moreover, serve a twofold purpose. Not only will it disclose to us how the Gospel tradition grew; it will shed light also on the Jerusalem Church by recovering for us documents which were formed in accordance with her needs, and upon which these needs in some instances exercised a creative influence. Following on the oral tradition, the sources of the Gospels began to take on a fixed or written form with the spread of missionary activity from Jerusalem into the diaspora. First the words of Jesus were collected and organized into groups, then came a narrative collection likewise organized into definite groups. The two sources of the synoptic Gospels thus grew to meet the needs of believers who required the information about Jesus which was current in the Jerusalem Church. In these two sources as used in the Gospels different strata may be discovered by bearing in mind their Jerusalem origin. In the Logia as preserved by Matthew, prominence is given to Christ's opposition to the Pharisees and Scribes, and to their piety, reflecting the separation of the Jerusalem Church from Judaism and its authorities. In the Logia of Luke, however, prominence is given to the poor, reflecting a later time in the life of the Church. The Gospel sources are, however, not only reflections of the condition of the Jerusalem Church—emphasizing in the teaching of Jesus what was valuable for her life in its different stages—they are in some instances the direct result of her creative activity, as in the parable of the tares.\* Significant is the following statement: "From the beginning the tradition consisted not in mere repetition, but in repetition combined with creative activity."† Similarly also in the narrative sources. Written in Jerusalem with a practical purpose, little attention was given to chronological arrangement, and as the events are localized principally in Galilee, there was of necessity an ideal projection which resulted in generalities, such as the mountain, the sea, the city and the desert. Here also different strata in the tradition appear. The narratives of the first stratum show Jesus in His regular activity—in the work of His calling, in His intercourse with all sorts of men. The later stratum is characterized by symbolical representation or allegory, and is best seen in such narratives as the feeding of the five and four thousand and the transfiguration. The faith which created these narratives used them as the means of expressing what it had in

\* *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, S. 384.

† S. 393, English translation, II, p. 62.

Jesus. Jesus had become the subject of teaching (Lehre), so that this form of teaching was intended not as history but as the symbolical representation of His nature. Conservation and free development went hand in hand in the narrative as in the Logia source, revealing a development which as compared with other lines, such as the Ebionite, has the merit of being consistent.\*

Such a view is manifestly less burdened than was Baur's with a particular theory of the development of apostolic history. It gains in consistency by limiting both locally and temporally the formative influences which produced the synoptic Gospels. It has the merit of seeking to understand the Gospels in relation to their environment, and it commands our assent in fixing upon the Jerusalem Church before the year seventy for the origin of the material which underlies their common tradition. In regard to the nature and extent of this influence Weizsäcker's view seems less objective. Of fundamental importance in his theory is the distinction between reproductive and creative tradition. If this be established by evidence, he will have discovered the principle of separation which, on the theory of partial trustworthiness, is needed in order to account for the Gospels and their witness. Among the instances of creative tradition Weizsäcker cites the fact that Luke omits the cursing of the fig tree and replaces it by the parable of the fig tree.† From the fact that Peter and John were still active when the narrative of the transfiguration took on fixed form in Jerusalem, he infers its symbolical or allegorical character.‡ Such inferences may seem possible to some, but they furnish at best but an uncertain basis for so far-reaching a principle.

Schmiedel has less faith in the solution of the synoptic problem. He says: "The great danger of any hypothesis lies in this, that it sets up a number of quite general propositions on the basis of a limited number of observations, and thus has to find these propositions justified, come what may." § Or again: "We have to reckon with an immense range of possibilities, and thus security of judgment is lost." || Manifestly some other course must be followed. "On the one hand, we must set on one side everything which for any reason, arising either from the substance or from considerations of literary criticism, has to be regarded as doubtful or as wrong; on the other hand, we must make search for all such data as, from

\* *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, 369ff.

† S. 396.

‡ S. 397.

§ *Ency. Bib.*, s. v. Gospels, Vol. II, col. 1868.

|| c. 1869.

the nature of their contents, cannot possibly on any account be regarded as inventions."\* Such is the principle proposed for determining the credibility of the Gospels, quite independently of "the determination of a problem so difficult and perhaps insoluble as the synoptical is." The method recommended is a simple twofold procedure: Reject the wrong, or the false; accept the true. The principle to guide us in detecting the false is any reason arising from the substance or from considerations of literary criticism which necessitates such a judgment. The principle for discovering the true is even more simple. The true is that which cannot be false, and that which cannot be false is that which cannot possibly on any account be regarded as an invention. In the application of this method to the Gospels the first principle discovers in the chronological framework, the order of the narrative, the occasions of the utterances of Jesus, the places and persons, the supposed indications of the conditions of a later time, the miracle narratives and the resurrection so large an element of the false or wrong as "to raise a doubt whether any credible elements" are "to be found in the Gospels at all." With this feature of Schmiedel's criticism we are brought to the point of passing over from the theory of partial trustworthiness to that of the entire untrustworthiness of the Gospel witness. By his second principle, however, a few fragments are saved from the general wreckage, and to these the high quality of absolute trustworthiness is attributed. If one principle brings the Gospels to the verge of destruction, the other exalts what it saves to a region beyond the sphere of doubt, very much as Steck comforts us for the loss of the four major epistles of Paul with the words: "If everything is ungenueine, then nothing is any longer ungenueine"† It will be clear that the passages saved by this principle will receive from it no greater credibility than the principle itself possesses. Since then it is supposed to furnish us with the criterion of absolute credibility, we cannot be wrong in regarding it as the fundamental principle in Schmiedel's criticism. If it commend itself as satisfactory and adequate, then it will have given us what we have been seeking in the theories of partial trustworthiness—a safe and sure principle

\* c. 1872.

† *Der Galaterbrief*, S. 385: "Ist alles unecht so ist nichts mehr unecht. Die ganze Frage hört dann auf. Man streitet sich nicht mehr über Echtheit oder Unechtheit der neutestamentlichen Schriften, sondern man sucht eine jede aus ihrem Inhalt zu verstehen und in die Geschichte des Urchristentums an der Stelle einzureihen wo sie diesem nach hingehört."



of separation. The identification and removal of the great mass of the untrustworthy will not greatly concern us if we have in our hands a sure instrument for determining the trustworthy.

The real nature of the principle will appear in its application to the Gospels. The Gospels were written by worshipers of Jesus. They must therefore be estimated as a profane historian would estimate an historical document which testified to the worship of a hero unknown to other sources. First and foremost importance will be attracted to those features which cannot be deduced merely from the fact of this worship, for they would not be found in the document unless the author had met with them as fixed data of tradition.\* The grounds of this reverence for Jesus are the two great facts that Jesus had compassion for the multitude and that He preached with power, not as the Scribes.† Briefly stated, the Gospel authors wrote for the glorification of Jesus;‡ anything not in accord with this purpose still preserved in their narratives must therefore have come to them in a fixed tradition, since their purpose bars the possibility of their having created it. § Reduced to its lowest terms, this principle may be formulated somewhat as follows: Incongruity with manifest tendency is the test of historicity. Contravention of an author's purpose is the ground of absolute credibility. The result of the application of this principle to the Gospels is the separation of five absolutely credible passages which, along with four others, might be called the foundation pillars of a truly scientific life of Jesus. || Of these passages Mark x. 17ff. will serve best for illustration. Jesus is represented as saying, "Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, even God." This must be absolutely authentic, because the author of the Gospel, in view of his purpose, could not have invented it. An interesting parallel to this, supported by a similar principle of criticism, is the passage in the Gospel to the Hebrews: ¶ "Behold, the mother of the Lord and his brothers said to him, John the Baptist baptizes unto the remission of sins. Let us go and be baptized of him. But he said to them, In what have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized of him, unless perchance this very thing

\* c. 1872.

† c. 1873.

‡ c. 1874.

§ That the inference from contradiction of purpose to origin in fixed tradition does not follow necessarily may be seen in Wrede's discussion of such contradictions in Mark's Gospel (*Das Messiasgeheimnis*, S. 124-129). When the purpose is made sufficiently flexible, the contradictions of it may be subsumed under it.

|| c. 1881.

¶ Nestle, *Nov. Testament. Græci Supplementum*, p. 76f.

that I have said is ignorance?" Such a word, says Oscar Holtzmann, would never have found entrance into a Gospel did it not come from the mouth of Jesus Himself.\*

The comparison of this principle with that of Weizsäcker is instructive. Both Schmiedel and Weizsäcker seek to separate the simply reproductive or trustworthy elements in the Gospel tradition from the creative or untrustworthy elements. Weizsäcker, however, seeks to ground objectively his judgment in respect to the latter by tracing the influence of its environment on the Gospel tradition. Schmiedel's principle is subjective, resting on the idea that only what cannot possibly be regarded as creative is reproductive. It may thus dispense with any objective historical grounds, but whether because of its subjectivity it can be regarded as a surer canon of historicity, the principle of absolute credibility, is open to question. We have already seen the insufficiency of a tendency criticism organized in accordance with an *a priori* system which yet sought justification for its results in historical evidence. A tendency criticism, therefore, which neglects such a justification from history, where its results may most readily be brought to the test of fact, may escape the fate which Baur's theory suffered from historical criticism, but only by seeking the solution of an historical problem outside the field of historical criticism.

Yet however subjective the principle, the results of its application to historical documents must submit to the judgment of historical criticism. Let us grant that the Gospels are written with a purpose, that they are tendency writings: does this destroy their historical value except in so far as they contain elements which are not in harmony with this purpose? In the first place, it should be observed that the presence of these very elements speaks favorably for the honesty of the men who, writing with a purpose, did not remove them. Moreover, it is perfectly clear that the Gospels, being written by worshipers of Jesus, were written for the purpose of narrating the facts upon which that worship was based, primarily for Christians, and with the intention of thus strengthening and deepening their faith. This faith was centred in the person of Christ, and the Gospel writers gave what they believed to be a faithful account of His life and work, in so far as they possessed information concerning it. In this they may have been lamentably wrong; the very purpose, which they do not conceal, serving as their sentence of condemna-

\**Leben Jesu*, S. 36.

tion. For suppose we grant the truthfulness of their representation, then under this principle of criticism, in order to secure for it absolute credibility, they must have sought to represent the facts as they were not and retained as incongruous with their purposed representation those elements which would convey the truth to us. This is, of course, impossible, since they could not have done this without conscious intention or purpose. The question is thus forced upon us, Would it have been possible under this principle for the authors of the Gospels to have written the truth on the supposition that their narratives are true? If, however, we suppose their narratives almost entirely vitiated by their purpose, we have still to face the problem of the origin of their faith. According to the witness of the Gospel, and we may add of the whole New Testament, the creative force of the Christian faith is traced to the person of Jesus Christ. Is it historically probable, as this principle necessitates, that the order must be reversed and the Christ of the Gospels made the product of Christian faith?

V

Here we find ourselves again in a situation very similar to that in which Strauss left Gospel criticism. In both the Christ of the Gospels is the creation of subsequent Christianity—in the one case, of Christian faith; in the other, of Christian imagination. In both an idea plays the all-determining part. In the one case the purpose of faith to represent Jesus in accord with its idea of him produced the Christ of the Gospels; in the other, the idea of Jesus as the Messiah resulted, under the mythical elaboration of faith, in the Christ of the Gospels. Since, then, we cannot have an effect without an adequate cause, this principle in its application to the Gospels must face the judgment of history based on the fundamental principle of sufficient reason in answer to the question, Did the Christ of the Gospels create the faith of Christianity, or did this faith create the Christ of the Gospels? However plausible this principle of criticism may at first appear, it fails to appreciate the nature of the Gospels, and by setting up a standard of historicity to which they cannot conform, judges them very largely untrustworthy as sources of historical information. No one will deny that the Gospels were written with a purpose, but before we condemn them on this ground we must inquire whether the purpose which they manifest be of a kind to justify such a judgment.

. But, it is said, the authors of the Gospels were worshipers of Jesus. This fact will also be admitted. How shall we account for this worship? The Gospels ground it in the whole life and

work of Jesus, by which was made manifest to His disciples the real nature of His being. When Thomas bows in worship before his Master he cries, "My Lord and my God!" It must also be borne in mind that the basis of the Gospel tradition comes to us from Jews whose ideas about the true object of worship had been formed under the influence of the Old Testament. Schmiedel, however, tells us that the grounds of this worship were two great facts—the compassion of Jesus for the multitudes and the character of His preaching.\* These we learn from the Gospel account of His activity, but just why these two elements are given such fundamental significance we are not informed. Is it because they could not possibly, on any account, be regarded as inventions? And yet it can scarcely be maintained that they are so out of accord with the purpose of the Gospels as to secure for them the judgment of absolute credibility. But were this the case and were we justified in giving them this significance, it may still be questioned whether in themselves alone they constitute a sufficient basis for the worship whose genesis they are used to explain. Discovery of purpose cannot justify the judgment of historical untrustworthiness apart from the determination of the kind of purpose, neither can the discovery of a religious purpose be so conceived apart from an investigation of its nature: and finally, if the effort of faith to give an account of itself be rejected, some satisfactory explanation must be offered in its place. Such considerations make it difficult to believe that in Schmiedel's principle of criticism we have at last the sure standard by which to separate creative from reproductive faith or the norm of absolute credibility.

The question of the origin and character of the fourth Gospel in their bearing on the witness of this Gospel to Christ carries us back to patristic days. With the exception of a small sect called by Epiphanius the Alogi, its Johannine origin was not seriously questioned until the appearance of Bretschneider's *Probabilia* (1820). Modern discussion of the problem has been abundant, with wide divergence of opinion, but still very generally within the limits of the theory of partial trustworthiness. In its more recent aspects there is observable, I think, a tendency to connect the fourth Gospel either directly or indirectly with the apostle John by means of Ephesus, Jerusalem, or the presbyter John, and to recognize in the narrative-sections many authentic elements. An interesting example of this may be found in the two editions of Jülicher's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, published in 1894

\* c. 1873.



and 1901. According to the first edition, the value of the fourth Gospel consisted in the witness which it gave, not to Christ, but to the idea of Christ as conceived by a great thinker of the third Christian generation. Its connection with the apostle John, together with the residence of the apostle in Asia Minor, were rejected. In the second edition the origin of the Gospel indirectly from John in Asia Minor is affirmed, the author being an enthusiastic disciple of the apostle. Schmiedel,\* it is true, sees in it only ideal history, and Kreyenbühl discovers in it the work of the Gnostic Menander;† while Zahn upholds its Johannine authorship.‡

Taking its place among the Gospels, and yet with a grandeur of its own bearing its witness to Christ, the fourth Gospel, by reason of the characteristics which separate it from the synoptic Gospels, raises its own distinctive problems. Among these, for the question we are considering, the problem of authorship plays an important part. In a measure, it takes the place in the discussion of the fourth Gospel which the problem of the sources takes in the discussion of the synoptic Gospels. If it came from the apostle John, we shall have in his authorship the guarantee of its trustworthy character. If it came from him only indirectly, then we must seek what elements he has contributed, determine whether they have in any way suffered change in transmission and reconstruct their original form. We must also ascertain whether the author had any other sources of information and, if he had, their quality; from this we must separate what he himself has contributed and estimate its value. For this process, however, the theories which deny the direct Johannine authorship of the Gospel and affirm its partial trustworthiness offer only very general criteria, suggested chiefly by the divergence both in form and content of the fourth Gospel from the synoptic Gospels.

If the two be really inconsistent, then, on the theory that the synoptic Gospels are trustworthy or at least partially trustworthy, the credibility of the fourth Gospel will, of course, be correspondingly limited. Then some satisfactory explanation must be offered of how such an inconsistent account came into existence at a time when the synoptic Gospels were not only written, but widely used and known in the circles where the fourth Gospel originated. For it is clear from indications in the fourth Gospel that knowledge of

\* *Ency. Bib.*, s. v. John, Vol. II, c. 2518ff.

† *Evangelium der Wahrheit*, I, S. 368.

‡ Cf. *Theo. Rundschau*, 1899; A. Meyer, *Die Behandlung der joh. Frage* and *Theo. Literaturblatt*, 1903; Hausleiter, *Der Kampf um das Joh. Ev.*

the synoptic tradition of Christ's life is presupposed on the part of the readers for whom it was written. To have secured the reception that it gained in Christian circles at the time when it was written, it must, on this theory of its relation to the synoptic Gospels, have had back of it a person whose authority was clearly recognized. But since this authority cannot have been ignorant of the synoptic Gospels, we must suppose that he was either unconscious of contradicting their account or, being conscious of it, he has left this to be inferred from his narrative, without himself having introduced into it a single distinct intimation of such an intention; and yet the author of the fourth Gospel speaks elsewhere quite plainly of the purpose which he had in view in writing and which is stamped clearly upon the face of his narrative. This view, therefore, of the relation of the fourth Gospel to the synoptics may be a hasty inference from their differences, for it leaves the origin of the fourth Gospel obscure. It must thus be judged unwise to accept such an inference as supplying a sure basis for our estimate of this Gospel. That there are striking differences has been admitted; but that they necessitate a theory of the relation of the fourth Gospel to the synoptics which is largely destructive of the trustworthiness of the former, can be maintained only when on this theory a rational account of the origin and character of this Gospel is given. More consistent with the phenomena of the fourth Gospel is the theory which conceives of its relation to the synoptic Gospels as supplementary, and which seeks the explanation of the differences in the time when it was written, the needs of those for whom it was written and the source from which it came.

The genetic problem is thus seen to have fundamental significance for any theory regarding the credibility of the Gospel witness. In order, however, to determine its origin, its character must be rightly apprehended. For its character throws an indispensable light on the nature of the Gospels in which the witness is contained. Having determined its character, our judgment regarding its credibility may take an *a priori* form: being what it is, the Gospel witness may be judged trustworthy or untrustworthy on the ground of its content. Or our judgment may take the historical form: in view of the origin of the Gospels which contain this witness, it may be judged trustworthy or untrustworthy.

In regard to the former, the judgment of trustworthiness finds support in the consistency of the Gospel witness with the whole apostolic testimony to Christ as found in the New Testament. The close connection of this witness with the apostolic conception

of the Gospels has been mentioned. The Gospel witness presents in historical form just those facts which underlie the apostolic preaching, together with an estimate of Christ's person and work, which, if not elaborated in doctrinal form, is congruous with the doctrinal elaboration that we find in the Epistles. That it is the witness of faith cannot invalidate this judgment, unless it be shown that faith has created a witness without basis in fact.

In regard to the latter, the historical question of value in the light of origin, the judgment of trustworthiness may be justified. The form of the Gospel witness, however close its relation in respect of content to the apostolic preaching and doctrinal teaching, makes it impossible to explain this witness as the product rather than the source of this teaching. Thus we do not find in the Gospels the formal statement of the doctrine of justification by faith or of the atonement. But we do find there a prominence given to the passion of Christ which lays a basis in fact for the central and determining significance given to these doctrines by Paul. "Christianity was from its beginning a religion of redemption. It was not first made so by Paul."\*

We cannot, however, estimate fairly the origin of the Gospel witness apart from the origin of the Gospels. To estimate the latter, historical criticism must ascertain and seek to understand the environment in which the Gospels were written and the source or sources from which they came. For its guidance it will find traces in the Gospels themselves which reveal something of the time and purpose of each. The opinion of the early Church about their origin will also be of service. It will be clear from such a study that the Gospels, like the Epistles, were concretely motivated and written to supply some need in the life of the Church. Each Gospel, moreover, with dependence on a common tradition or departure from it, has its own portrait of Christ which the author sought to produce from the materials at his command. To the understanding of all this, the study of origin cannot but contribute materially. But when the environment has been ascertained and its influence traced in the Gospels thus produced, we desire to know the nature of this influence; and this must be judged in the light of its effect. Has the pure Gospel tradition been discolored? And if so, how may it be restored to its former purity?

The review we have taken of the attempts<sup>2</sup> which have been

\* Feine, *Jesus Christus und Paulus*, S. XII. Cf. also Loofs, *Herzog Realency.*, 3. A., B. iv, s. v. Christologie, S. 17, l. 30.

made to secure this end by a critical separation of the reproductive from the creative elements in the genesis of the Gospels and the Gospel tradition has discovered to us no principle to guide us safely through such a process. That there is a trustworthy reproductive element is generally admitted. The failure to identify the creative or untrustworthy element must lead us to question its existence, since it owes its existence to a particular theory of the relation of the Gospels to the environment in which they arose. Such a theory cannot be accepted as solving the problems raised by its conception of this relation, until the more fundamental problem into which these are merged has found a satisfactory solution in the separation required. The facts, however, do not necessitate such a theory, since they are capable of explanation on another view of this relation. This view, while recognizing that our Gospels are historical documents, whose origin in space and time constitutes a proper theme for historical investigation, yet holds that the influence upon them of their environment has not destroyed their trustworthiness; recognizing also that their content is grounded in historical fact, it finds the creative influence, as distinguished from the reproductive, not in the later environment and embedded in the Gospels, but underlying the Gospels and centred in the person and work of Jesus Christ, to whom they bear witness. Such a view is ready to trust the witness of the Gospels, making confession with it of Jesus Christ as Lord and God.

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### III.

## SPIRITUAL CULTURE IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.\*

**I**T is natural that at the opening of a new Session the minds of both Professors and Students, especially of those Students who are with us for the first time, should be bent somewhat anxiously upon the matter which has brought us together. How are we who teach best to fulfill the trust committed to us, of guiding others in their preparation for the high office of Minister of Grace? How are you who are here to make this preparation, so to employ your time and opportunities as to become in the highest sense true stewards of the mysteries of Christ? Standing as you do at the close of your University work and at the beginning of three years more of mental labor—looking back at the conquests you have already made and forward at unconquered realms still lying before you—it would not be strange if your thoughts as they busy themselves with the preparation you require for your ministerial work should be predominately occupied with intellectual training. It is the more important that we should pause to remind ourselves that intellectual training alone will never make a true minister; that the heart has rights which the head must respect; and that it behooves us above everything to remember that the ministry is a spiritual office.

I should be sorry to leave the impression that it is questionable whether the Church may not have laid too strong an emphasis on the intellectual outfit that is needed for her ministry. I must profess, indeed, that I am incapable of understanding the standpoint of those (for such there seem to be) who talk of the over-intellectualization of the ministry. The late Dr. Joseph T. Duryea spoke rather strongly, but with substantial justice, when he declared it to be "high time that the question whether culture and learning do not unfit preachers for the preaching of the Gospel to ordinary men and women, were referred back without response to the stupidity that inspires it." It is not to be denied, of course,

\* An address delivered to the incoming Students, Sabbath afternoon, September 20, 1903, in the Oratory of Stuart Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary.

that there are learned men who are perfectly useless in the ministry; and even, what is more surprising, that there are men of broad and varied and, one would have thought, humanizing culture, who seem to be unable to turn their culture to any practical use. But it is yet to be shown that these same men, without knowledge and destitute of the culture which might have been expected to humanize them, would have been any more useful. Are there no ignorant men, no men innocent of all culture, who are unpractical and of no possible use in the ministry? The fact is that when our Lord decreed that the religion He founded should be propagated by preaching, or, to put it more broadly, when He placed it in the world with the commission to reason its way to the hearts of men, He put a premium on intellectual endowments, and laid at the basis of ministerial equipment a demand for intellectual training, which no sophistry can cloud. The minister must have good tools with which to work, and must keep these tools in good condition.

You will find nothing in the curriculum which will be offered to you in this Seminary, the mastery of which is not essential to your highest efficiency in your ministry. The intellectual training at present provided for candidates for the ministry is not above either their prospective needs or the easy possibilities of their present powers. You will be wise to give yourselves diligently to making full account of it. It would not be easy to exaggerate the intimacy of the relation between sound knowledge and sound religious feeling: and the connection between sound knowledge and success in ministerial work is equally close. "Without study," says an experienced bishop of the Church of England, with his eye on the daily life of the minister it is true, but no less applicably to his preparation—"without study we shall not only fail to bring to our people all the blessings which God intends for them, but we shall gradually become feeble and perfunctory in our ministrations: our life may apparently be a busy one, and our time incessantly occupied, but our work will be comparatively fruitless: we shall be fighting as one that beateth the air."

So intimate is the connection between the head and the heart and hand, indeed, that it is not unfair to say broadly that if undue intellectualism exhibits itself in those preparing for the ministry, the fault is relative, not absolute: that, in a word, there is not a too muchness in the case at all, but a too littleness somewhere else. The trouble with those whom a certain part of the world persists in speaking of as over-educated for an effective ministry is not that they are too highly trained intellectually, but

that they are sadly undertrained spiritually; not that their head has received too much attention, but that their heart has received too little. Of course I shall not deny that it is possible to find men who are naturally lacking in sufficient mental power to pursue a Seminary course profitably; and I am far from saying that there are none of these "unlearned and ignorant men" who have been so baptized with the Holy Spirit that the Church may profitably induct them into the ministry to which God has obviously called them. But these are rare exceptions; and I do not think it characteristic of this humble but honorable class that they refuse to make the best use possible of the mental powers that have been vouchsafed to them. Certainly it would be perilous for us to make the existence of such a class the excuse for neglecting to stir up the gift that is in us. Rather I think it may be fairly inferred that when students for the ministry fail to take full advantage of the opportunities for intellectual culture offered them, the fault is usually to be found in the heart itself. When too much blood seems to have gone to the head, we may ordinarily justly presume that this is only because too little has gone to the heart; and similarly when little or none is thrown to the head, we may quite generally suspect it is because the heart has too little within it to supply the needs of any organ.

# I.

I have missed my mark in what I have been saying if, while insisting on the need of a strenuous intellectual preparation for the ministry, I have not also suggested that the deepest need is a profound spiritual preparation. An adequate preparation for the Gospel ministry certainly embraces much more than merely the study of certain branches of learning. When Bishop Wilberforce opened Cuddesden College in 1854, he wrote: "Threefold object of residence here: 1. Devotion; 2. Parochial Work; 3. Theological Reading." The special circumstances of "candidates for holy orders" in the Church of England suggested, as we shall subsequently see, the order in which these three elements in their preparation are mentioned. In our special circumstances a different order might be suggested. But does it not, even on first sight, commend itself to you with clear convincingness, that any proper preparation for the ministry must include these three chief parts—a training of the heart, a training of the hand, a training of the head—a devotional, a practical and an intellectual training? Such a training, in a word, as that we may learn first to know Jesus, then to grasp the message He would have

us deliver to men, and then how He would have us work for Him in His vineyard. We are told by the Evangelist Mark (iii. 14) that when Jesus appointed His twelve apostles, it was first that they might be with Him, and then that He might send them forth to preach. And surely we may believe that we who are the successors of the apostles as the evangelizers of the world have been called like them first of all to be with Jesus and only then to go forth to preach. It may not be without significance that out of the fourteen or fifteen qualifications which, according to the Apostle Paul, must unite in order to fit a man to be a bishop, only one requires an intellectual preparation. The bishop must be "apt to teach." But aptness to teach is only the beginning of his fitting. All the other requirements are rooted in his moral or spiritual fitness.

I am not going to lose myself in a vain—perhaps worse than vain—inquiry as to which of the three lines of preparation I have hinted at is the most essential. Why raise a question between three lines of training, each of which is essential both in itself and to the proper prosecution of the others? If intellectual acuteness will not of itself make a man an acceptable minister of Christ, neither will facility and energy in practical affairs by themselves, nor yet piety and devotion alone. The three must be twisted together into a single three-ply cord. We are not to ask whether we will cultivate the one or the other; or whether we will give our chief attention to the one or the other. We must simultaneously push our forces over all three lines of approach, if we are to capture the stronghold of a successful ministry at all. Doing so, they will interact, as we have suggested, each to secure the others. Do we wish to grow in grace? It is the knowledge of God's truth that sanctifies the heart. Do we desire a key to the depths of God's truth? It is the Spirit-led man who discerns all things. Are our souls in travail for the dying thousands about us? How eager, then, will be our search in the fountain of life for the waters of healing? Is the way weary? Do we not know whence alone can be derived our strength for the journey of life? There is no way so surely to stimulate the appetite for knowledge as to quicken the sense of the need of it in the wants of our own spiritual life or in the calls of practical work for others. There is no way so potent for awakening a craving for personal holiness or for arousing a love of souls in our hearts, as to fill the mind with a knowledge of God's love to man as revealed in His Holy Book.

The reciprocal relation in which the several lines of preparation for the ministry stand to one another, supplies me with my first



remark as I address myself to the task immediately before me—of attempting to outline in a practical way some account of how your spiritual training may be advanced during your stay in the Seminary. This remark takes a negative form and amounts to saying with some emphasis that your spiritual growth will not be advanced by the neglect of the very work for which you resort to the Seminary. Such a remark may seem to some of you out of place: it is perhaps not so entirely unnecessary as it may appear. There is a valuable bit from his own personal experience given us by the late Phillips Brooks in his *Yale Lectures*,\* which I shall repeat here for our admonition also. He is impressing on his readers the important truth that the first and most evident element in a true preparation for the ministry consists in a mastery of the professional studies leading up to it. He writes as follows:

"Most men begin really to study when they enter on the preparation for their professions. Men whose college life, with its general culture, has been very idle, begin to work when at the door of the professional school the work of their life comes into sight before them. It is the way in which a bird who has been wheeling vaguely hither and thither sees at last its home in the distance and flies toward it like an arrow. But shall I say to you how often I have thought that the very transcendent motives of the young minister's study have a certain tendency to bewilder him and make his study less faithful than that of men seeking other professions from lower motives? The highest motive often dazzles before it illuminates. It is one of the ways in which the light within us becomes darkness. I never shall forget my first experience of a divinity school. I had come from a college where men studied hard but said nothing about faith. I had never been at a prayer-meeting in my life. The first place I was taken to at the Seminary was the prayer-meeting; and never shall I lose the impression of the devoutness with which those men prayed and exhorted one another. Their whole souls seemed exalted and their natures were on fire. I sat bewildered and ashamed and went away depressed. On the next day I met some of these same men at a Greek recitation. It would be little to say of some of the devoutest of them that they had not learnt their lesson. Their whole way showed that they had never learnt their lessons; that they had not got hold of the first principles of hard, faithful, conscientious study. The boiler had no connection with the engine. The devotion did not touch the work which then and there was the work, and the only work, for them to do. By and by I found something of where the steam did escape to. A sort of amateur, premature preaching was much in vogue among us. We were in haste to be at what we called 'our work.' A feeble twilight of the coming ministry we lived in. The people in the neighborhood dubbed us 'parsonettes.' Oh, my fellow-students, the special study of theology and all that appertains to it, that is what the preacher must be doing always; but he can never do it afterward as he can in the blessed days of quiet in Arabia, after Christ has called him, and before the apostles lay their hands upon him. In many respects an ignorant clergy, however pious it may be, is worse than none at all. The more the empty head glows and burns, the more hollow and thin and dry it grows. 'The knowledge of the priest,' said St. Francis de Sales 'is the eighth sacrament of the Church.'"

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\* P. 43.

Well, it was not at Princeton Seminary that Dr. Brooks saw these evils. Perhaps they do not exist here: let us hope that they do not, at least in the measure in which he portrays them. Nevertheless his experience may fitly be laid to heart by us for our warning. The religious training which a minister needs to get in his days of preparation assuredly cannot be had by neglecting the very work he is set to do, in favor of any show of devoutness which does not affect the roots of his conduct, or of any show of zeal in another work which it is not yet his to do.

Of course there is another side to it. This religious training is not already obtained by the mere refusal to be led away from our primary work at the Seminary by practical calls upon our energies. Our primary business at the Seminary is, no doubt, to obtain the intellectual fitting for our ministerial work, and nothing must be allowed to supersede that in our efforts. But neither must the collateral prosecution of the requisite training of the heart and hand be neglected, as opportunity offers. Nor will a properly guarded attention to these injure the discharge of our scholastic duties; it will, on the contrary, powerfully advance their successful performance. The student cannot too sedulously cultivate devoutness of spirit. The maxim has been often verified in the experience of us all: *bene orasse est bene studuisse*. When the heart is thoroughly aroused, the slowest mind starts into motion and an impulse is given it which carries it triumphantly over intellectual difficulties before which it quailed afraid. And equally a proper taste of the practical work of the ministry is a great quickener of the mind for the intellectual preparation. We cannot do without these things. And the student must be very careful, therefore—even on this somewhat low ground—while not permitting any distractions to divert him from his primary task as a student, yet to take full advantage of all proper opportunities that may arise to train his heart and hand also. Preparation for ministerial service is very much like building a machine—say a locomotive. The intellectual work may have been accomplished and the machine may stand perfect before us. But it will not go unless the vital force of devotion is throbbing through it. Knowledge is a powerful thing: and practical tact is a powerful thing. And so is a locomotive a powerful thing—provided it has steam in it! Though I know all mysteries and all knowledge, and though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, if I have not the love of God and man welling up in invincible power beneath it all and lifting it all and transmuting it all into effective working force—it profits me nothing.

## II.

But the question comes back to us, How are we to obtain this spiritual culture in the Seminary? Well, theological students, in becoming theological students, have not ceased to be men; and there is no other way for them to become devout men than that which is common to man. There is but one way, brethren, to become strong in the Lord. That way is to feed on the Bread of Life! This is the way other men who would fain be devout take, and it is the way we, if we would fain be devout, must take. We are simply asking ourselves then, as theological students, what opportunities are offered us by our residence in the Seminary for the cultivation of faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to Him. What we are eager to know is how we can, not merely keep alive, but fan into a brighter flame, the fires of our love for our Lord and Saviour. I desire to be perfectly plain and simple in attempting to suggest an answer to this question. I shall, therefore, only enumerate in the barest manner some of the ways in which the devout life may be assisted in the conditions in which we live in the Seminary.

First of all, I must point you to the importance of a diligent use of the public means of grace. Public means of grace abound in the Seminary. There is the stated Sabbath-morning service in the chapel; and no student who is not prevented from attending it by some imperative duty should fail to be in his seat at that service, adding whatever his presence and his prayers can bring to the spiritual forces at work there. Then there is our weekly Conference on Sabbath afternoon, in which we talk over together the blessed promises of our God and seek to learn better His will for the ordering of our lives. There have been those in times past whose hearts have been stirred within them at these Conferences; and they may be made by the seeking spirit very precious seasons of social meditation and prayer. Then, Faculty and Students meet daily, at the close of the day's work, to listen to a fragment of God's Word, mingle their voices in praise to God, and ask His blessing on the labor of the day. Indeed, we proceed to no one of our classroom exercises without pausing a moment to lift up our hearts to God in prayer. And every effort is made by all of us who teach, I know, in all our teaching—however it may appear from moment to moment to be concerned with mere parts of speech, or the signification of words, or the details of history, or the syllogisms of formal logic—to preserve a devout spirit and a reverent heart, as becomes those who are dealing even with the outer

coverings that protect the mysteries of God. I need not stay to speak with particularity of the more rarely occurring stated services, such as the monthly concert of prayer for missions and the like. Enough has been said to suggest the richness of provision made in the Seminary for public worship: and assuredly amid such abounding opportunities for the quickening of the religious life it ought to be a comparatively easy thing to cultivate devoutness of spirit.

You will doubtless observe that I have said nothing, so far, of additional opportunities for social worship afforded by public services open to the attendance of the students outside the boundaries of the Seminary, or by voluntary associations for religious culture among the students themselves. These also are abundant, and have their parts to play in your edification. They may be justly accounted supplementary means of grace, useful to you, each in its own place and order. But what I am insisting on now is something which no such services, whether without or within the Seminary walls, can supply: something which by the grace of God can go much deeper into the bases of your religious nature and lay much broader foundations for the building up of a firm and consistent and abiding Christian character. I am exhorting you to give great diligence to the cultivation of the stated means of grace provided by the Seminary, to live in them and make them the full and rich expression of the organic religious life of the institution. I am touching on something here that seems to me to be of the utmost importance and which does not seem to me to have received the attention from the students which it deserves. Every body of men bound together in as close and intimate association as we are, must have an organic life: and if the bonds that bind them together are fundamentally of a religious character, this organic life must be fundamentally a religious one. We do not live on the top of our privileges in such circumstances unless we succeed in giving this organic religious life full power in our own lives and full expression in the stated means provided for its expression. No richness of private religious life, no abundance of voluntary religious services on the part of members of the organism, can take the place of or supersede the necessity for the fullest, richest and most fervent expression of this organic religious life through its appropriate channels. I exhort you, therefore, brethren, with the utmost seriousness, to utilize the public means of grace afforded by the Seminary, and to make them instruments for the cultivation and expression of the organic religious life of



the institution. We shall not have done our duty by our own souls until we find in these public services the joy of our hearts and the inspiration of our conduct.

Let me go a step further and put into plain words a thought that is floating in my mind. The entire work of the Seminary deserves to be classed in the category of means of grace; and the whole routine of work done here may be made a very powerful means of grace if we will only prosecute it in a right spirit and with due regard to its religious value. For what are we engaging ourselves with in our daily studies but just the Word of God, the history of God's dealings with His people, the great truths that He has revealed to us for the salvation of our souls? And what are we doing when we engage ourselves day after day with these topics of study and meditation, but just what every Christian man strives to do when he is seeking nutriment for his soul? The only difference is that what he does sporadically, at intervals, and somewhat primarily, it is your privilege to give yourselves to unbrokenly for a space of three whole years! Precious years these ought to be to you, brethren, in the culture of the spiritual life. If such contact as we in the Seminary have the privilege of enjoying with Divine truth does not sanctify our souls, should we not infer either that it is a mistake to pray in Christ's own words, "Sanctify us in the truth; Thy word is truth," or else that our hearts are so indurated as no longer to be capable of reaction even to so powerful a reagent as the very truth of God?

I beseech you, brethren, take every item of your Seminary work as a religious duty. I am emphasizing the adjective in this. I mean do all your work religiously—that is, with a religious end in view, in a religious spirit, and with the religious side of it dominant in your mind. Do not lose such an opportunity as this to enlighten, deepen and strengthen your devotion. Let nothing pass by you without sucking the honey from it. If you learn a Hebrew word, let not the merely philological interest absorb your attention: remember that it is a word which occurs in God's holy Book, recall the passages in which it stands, remind yourselves what great religious truths it has been given to it to have a part in recording for the saving health of men. Every Biblical text whose meaning you investigate treat as a Biblical text, a part of God's holy Word, before which you should stand in awe. It is wonderful how even the strictest grammatical study can be informed with reverence. You cannot read six lines of Bishop Ellicott's *Commentaries, Critical and Grammatical*, on Paul's epistles without feeling through and

through that here is a man of God studying the Word of God. *O si sic omnes!* Let us make such commentators our models in our study of the Word, and learn like them to keep in mind Whose word it is we are dealing with, even when we are merely analyzing its grammatical expression. And when, done with grammar, we begin to weigh the meaning, O let us remember what meaning it has *to us!* Apply every word to your own souls as you go on, and never rest satisfied until you feel as well as understand. Every item of God's dealing with His Church to which your attention is directed, contemplate reverently as an act of God and search out the revelation it carries of God and His ways with man. And the doctrines—need I beg you to consider these doctrines not as so many propositions to be analyzed by your logical understanding, but as rather so many precious truths revealing to you God and God's modes of dealing with sinful man? John Owen, in his great work on Justification, insists and insists again that no man can ever penetrate the significance of this great doctrine unless he persistently studies it, not in the abstract light of the question, How can man be just with God? but in the searching light of the great personal question, How can *I*, sinner as I am, be accepted of God? It is wonderful how inadequacies in conceiving what is involved in Justification fall away under the illumination of this personal attitude toward it. And is it conceivable that it can be so studied and the heart remain cold and unmoved? Treat, I beg you, the whole work of the Seminary as a unique opportunity offered you to learn about God, or rather, to put it at the height of its significance, to learn God—to come to know Him whom to know is life everlasting. If the work of the Seminary shall be so prosecuted, it will prove itself to be the chief means of grace in all your lives. I have heard it said that some men love theology more than they love God. Do not let it be possible to say that of you. Love theology, of course: but love theology for no other reason than that it is *THEOLOGY*—the knowledge of God, and because it is your meat and drink to know God, to know Him truly, and as far as it is given to mortals, to know Him whole.

There is yet another aspect of the Seminary life the value of which as a means of spiritual development cannot easily be overestimated. I do not know how better to express what I mean than by calling the Seminary a three years' retreat. The word "retreat" may strike somewhat strangely upon our Protestant ears: though even our Presbyterian ministry has been learning of late what a "retreat" is. Well, that is what a Seminary life very

largely is—a period of three years' duration during which the prospective minister withdraws from the world and gives his time exclusively to study and meditation on God's Word, in company with a select body of godly companions.

Here man more purely lives, less oft doth fall,  
More promptly rises, walks with stricter heed.

Possibly with our natural Protestant objection to all that in the remotest way savors of the monastery, we may be prone to take little account of this feature of Seminary life—much to our hurt. Much to our hurt, I say; for a “retreat” is what a Seminary life is, and it will have its effect on us as such—one way or another, according as we do or do not prepare for it, and are or are not receptive of it.

Our brethren of the Church of England, who have only comparatively lately taken to multiplying distinctively theological colleges, because they look to the universities as the places where their candidates are to be educated for the holy office, consider this element in the life at a theological college one of its most characteristic and helpful features. It was because he viewed it thus that Bishop Wilberforce declared the three objects of residence at Cuddesden to be: 1. Devotion; 2. Parochial Work; and 3. Theological Reading. It is as a matter of fact inevitable that the practical withdrawal from the world and the congregation together of a hundred or two young men, all consecrated to the work of the Lord, and living in that closeness of intimacy which only community-life can induce, should have a very powerful effect on their religious development. What, brethren, can you draw coals together without creating a blaze? I beseech you, esteem very highly and cultivate with jealous eagerness this unique privilege of long and intimate association with so many of God's children. No such opportunities of interaction of devout lives upon one another can ever come to you again in all your life. If no fire of Christian love breaks out among you, look well to yourselves: you may justly suspect there is something wrong with your souls. In the daily intercourse of scores of Christian men there must arise innumerable opportunities of giving and receiving spiritual impressions. See to it that all you give shall conduce to the quickening of the religious life, and that all you receive shall be food on which your own hearts feed and grow strong in the Lord. When you leave the Seminary you will miss this intercourse sorely: but by God's help you may so use it while here that in the strength derived from it you may go many days.

## III.

But we must penetrate beneath even such means of grace as those I have enumerated before we reach the centre of our subject. It is not to the public ordinances, not to your Professors, and not even to your companions, that you can look for the sources of your growth in religious power. As no one can give you intellectual training except at the cost of your own strenuous effort, so no one can communicate to you spiritual advancement apart from the activities of your own eager souls. True devoutness is a plant that grows best in seclusion and the darkness of the closet; and we cannot reach the springs of our devout life until we penetrate into the sanctuary where the soul meets habitually with its God. If association with God's children powerfully quickens our spiritual life, how much more intimate communion with God Himself. Let us then make it our chief concern in our preparation for the ministry to institute between our hearts and God our Maker, Redeemer and Sanctifier such an intimacy of communion that we may realize in our lives the command of Paul to pray without ceasing and in everything to give thanks, and that we may see fulfilled in our own experience our Lord's promise not only to enter into our hearts, but unbrokenly to abide in them and to unite them to Himself in an intimacy comparable to the union of the Father and the Son.

*Lectio, meditatio, oratio*, the old Doctors used to say, *faciunt theologum*. They were right. Take the terms in the highest senses they will bear, and we shall have an admirable prescription of what we must do would we cultivate to its height the Christian life that is in us.

Above all else that you strive after, cultivate the grace of private prayer. It is a grace that is capable of cultivation and that responds kindly to cultivation; as it can be, on the other hand, atrophied by neglect. Be not of those that neglect it, but in constant prayer be a follower of Paul, or rather of our Lord Himself; for, God as He was, our blessed Lord was a man of prayer, and found prayer His ceaseless joy and His constant need. Of course the spirit of prayer is the main thing here, and the habit of "praying without ceasing," of living in a prayerful frame, is above all what is to be striven for. But let us not fall into the grave error of supposing this prayerful habit of mind enough, or that we can safely intermit the custom of setting apart seasons for formal prayer. Let me read you a few appropriate words here from one of Dr. H. C. G. Moule's delightful devotional treatises:



"To speak in terms of the simplest practicality," he says,\* "the living Christian will do anything rather than make his 'life' an excuse for indolence, and for want of method and self-discipline, in secret devotion; or for want of adoring reverence in the manner of it; or for neglect of the Written Word as a vital element in it, and as the one sure guide and guard of it all along. He will most specially take care that Christ is thus 'in his life,' in respect of *morning* intercourse with Him. His 'morning watch' will be a time of sacred necessity and blessed benefit. He will not merely confess the duty of 'meeting God before he meets man.' He will understand that he cannot do without it, if indeed he would deal with the unfolding day as it should be dealt with by one whose 'life is hid with Christ in God'; one who possesses the priceless treasure of the blessed Union, 'joined to the Lord, one Spirit,' and who has his treasure at hand, in hand for use. And he will be not less watchful over his *evening* interview with Him who is at once his Master and his Life; coming with punctual reverence to Him who meanwhile liveth *in* Him, to report the day's bond-service, to confess the day's sins in contrite simplicity, to look again deliberately upon his Master's face mirrored in His Word, to feel again the bond of the Union, tested and handled through the promises and then to lie down in the peace of God. And will he not see whether some *midday* interval, if but for a few brief minutes, cannot be found and kept sacred, for a special prayer and watch half-way? Such stated times are not substitutes for the spiritual attitude in which the 'eyes are *ever* toward the Lord,' but they are, I believe, quite necessary in order to the proper preparedness of the soul for that attitude, and for the right use, too, of all public and social ordinances. Nothing can annul the vital need of secret and deliberate communion with Him in whom we live, by whom we move."

Next to the prayerful spirit, the habit of reverent meditation on God's truth is useful in cultivating devoutness of life. It is commonly said around us that the old gift of meditation has perished out of the earth. And certainly there is much in our nervous, fussy times which does not take kindly to it. Those who read nowadays like to do it running. It is assuredly worth our while, however, to bring back the gracious habit of devout meditation. Says Jeremy Taylor in the opening page of his *Holy Living*, in his quaint, old-world words:

"The counsels of religion are not to be applied to the distempers of the soul as men used to take hellebore; but they must dwell together with the spirit of a man, and be twisted about his understanding for ever: they must be used like nourishment, that is, by a daily care and meditation; not like a single medicine, and upon the actual pressure of a present necessity."

It is the same lesson that Mr. Spurgeon expounds in his illuminating way in a passage like the following:

"We ought to muse upon the things of God, because we thus get the real nutriment out of them. Truth is something like the cluster of the vine: if we would have wine from it, we must bruise it; we must press and squeeze it many times. The bruisers' feet must come down joyfully upon the bunches, or else the juice will not flow; and they must well tread the grapes, or else much of the precious liquid will be wasted. So we must by meditation tread the clusters of truth, if

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\* *Life in Christ and for Christ*, p. 37.

we would get the wine of consolation therefrom. Our bodies are not supported merely by taking food into the mouth, but the process which really supplies the muscles and the nerve and the sinew and the bone is the process of digestion. It is by digestion that the outer food becomes assimilated with the inner life. Our souls are not nourished merely by listening awhile to this, and then to that, and then to the other part of divine truth. Hearing, reading, marking, and learning all require inwardly digesting to complete their usefulness, and the inward digesting of the truth lies for the most part in meditating upon it. Why is it that some Christians, although they hear many sermons, make but slow advances in the divine life? Because they neglect their closets, and do not thoughtfully meditate on God's Word. They love the wheat, but they do not grind it; they would have the corn, but they will not go forth into the fields to gather it; the fruit hangs upon the tree, but they will not pluck it; the water flows at their feet, but they will not stoop to drink it. From such folly deliver us, O Lord, and be this our resolve this day, 'I will meditate on Thy precepts.'"\*

Meditation is an exercise which stands somewhere between thought and prayer. It must not be confounded with mere reasoning; it is reasoning transfigured by devout feeling; and it proceeds by broodingly dissolving rather than by logically analyzing the thought. But it must be guarded from degenerating into mere day-dreaming on sacred themes; and it will be wise in order to secure ourselves from this fault to meditate chiefly with the Bible in our hands and always on its truths. As meditation, then, on the one side takes hold upon prayer, so, on the other, it shades off into devotional Bible-reading, the highest exercise of which, indeed, it is. Life close to God's Word, is life close to God. When I urge you to make very much while you are in the Seminary of this kind of devotional Bible study, running up into meditation, pure and simple, I am but repeating what the General Assembly specifically requires of you. "It is expected," says the *Plan of the Seminary*, framed by the Assembly as our organic law, "that every student will spend a portion of time, every morning and evening, in devout meditation and self-recollection and examination; in reading the Holy Scriptures solely with a view to a personal and practical application of the passage read to his own heart, character and circumstances; and in humble, fervent prayer and praise to God in secret."

And do we not find in the practice here recommended the remedy for that lamentable lack of familiarity with "the English Bible"—as it is fashionable now to speak of it—which is distressing us all in candidates for the ministry? Brethren, you deceive yourselves if you fancy any one can *teach* you "the English Bible" in the sense in which knowledge of it is desiderated. As well expect some one to digest your food for you. You must taste its preciousness for your-

\* *Morning by Morning*. p. 256.

selves, before you can apply its preciousness to others' needs. You must assimilate the Bible and make it your own, in that intimate sense which will fix its words fast in your hearts, if you would have those words rise spontaneously to your lips in your times of need, or in the times of the need of others. Read, study, meditate on your Bible: take time to it—much time; spend effort, strength, yourselves on it; until the Bible is in you. Then the Bible will well up in you and come out from you in every season of need.

It is idle to seek aids for such reading and meditation. The devout and prayerful spirit is the only key to it. Nevertheless there are helps which may be temporarily used as crutches if the legs halt too much to go. Dean Alford has a couple of little books on *How to Study the Scriptures*, and Dean Goulburn has a little volume on *The Practical Study of the Bible* which may be profitably consulted for general direction. Our fathers used to read their Bibles with Thomas Scott's *Family Bible with Notes*, or Matthew Henry's *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, or William Burkitt's *Expository Notes on the New Testament* (which turns every passage into a prayer) on their knee; and a worse practice can be conceived. The pungent quaintness of Henry especially remains until to-day without a rival: and no one can read his comments with his heart set on learning of God without deriving from them perennial profit. Direction for your thoughts in meditating on Divine truth may be sought also in the numerous books now in such general use for morning and evening religious reading. Bogatzky's *Golden Treasury* is the book of this sort our grandfathers used. William Jay's *Morning and Evening Exercises* is still one of the most useful of them. By its side may be fairly placed at least Mr. Spurgeon's *Checkbook on the Bank of Faith*. And the little books of Frances Ridley Havergal have won for themselves a good report. In the use of such aids it is wise to be constantly on guard lest, on the one side, we permit the aid to supplant the direct use of the Word of God as the basis of our meditation, and, on the other, we grow so accustomed to the crutch that we never learn to walk alone. Let neither Matthew Henry nor Charles Spurgeon supplant either the Word of God or the Spirit of God as the teacher of your soul.

#### IV.

In speaking of such aids to the devotional study of Scripture and prayerful meditation, we are already making the transition to a further class of helps to which I must advert before closing. "Every student," says the *Plan of the Seminary*, "at the close of



his course . . . must" (I beg you to observe that "must") "have read a considerable number of the best practical writers on the subject of religion." Even without such admonition we certainly could not have failed to recognize this source of quickening for the religious life. The question that is pressing is, Which are "the best practical writers on the subject of religion?" In the multitude clamoring for our attention, some good, many bad and not a few indifferent, the need of guidance in the choice of our practical reading becomes very acute.

Four great movements have been especially prolific in books of edification, each, of course, after its own fashion and with peculiarities of its own. These are the great mystical movement which runs through all ages of the Church; the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century; the Evangelical movement in the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and more lately and to a less extent the Anglican revival of the nineteenth century. The characteristic mark of the works which have emanated from the mystical writers is a certain aloofness combined with a clear and piercing note of adoration. The Puritan literature is marked by intense devotion to duty and strong insistence on personal holiness. Its message is apt to be couched in a somewhat unadorned literary style. But when the graces of style happen to be added to its clear good sense and profound piety, nothing could be more charming. I can never forget my "discovery" of John Arrowsmith, for example, when, reading a mass of Puritan literature for another purpose, I suddenly passed from the plain goodness of Anthony Burgess to his delightful pages. The evangelical fervor of the writers of the great awakening, and the churchly flavor of the Anglican writers are naturally their most marked characteristics. Our task is to select from this varied literature just the books which will most feed our souls.\*

\* We have no good history of edifying literature in English. The amazing diligence of Hermann Beck has given the Germans two admirable books in this department of knowledge: *Die Erbauungsliteratur der evang. Kirche Deutschlands* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1883, Part I) and *Die relig. Volksliteratur d. ev. Kirche Deutschlands in eine Abriss ihrer Geschichte* (Gotha: Perthes, 1892). A volume on *Books of Devotion*, by the Rev. Charles Bodington, has lately appeared in the series of practical treatises called *The Oxford Library of Practical Theology*, edited by the Rev. W. C. E. Newbold, M.A., and the Rev. Darwell Stone, M.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903). It is written from an extreme Anglican point of view: and I am afraid I shall have to add that it is high and dry to a degree and, beyond giving some account of the contents of a number of books of devotional tenor in English, largely of Romish origin, is of little value.



Thinking that in the multitude of counselors there was likely to be strength, I made bold a few years ago to write to a number of religious teachers, each of them justly famous as a writer of books of devotional character, and asked their aid in making out a short list of "the best practical writers on the subject of religion" for the use of the students of the Seminary. I will give you one or two of the answers I received, and these may serve as preliminary guides to your practical reading. Dr. James Stalker, now a Professor in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen, thought the following, on the whole, the five most helpful books of practical religion: Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, Richard Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*, Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ*, John Owen's *Holy Spirit*, Adolph Monod's *Saint Paul*. The late Rev. Dr. William M. Taylor, of New York, gave the preference to the following five: Dean Goulburn's *Thoughts on Personal Religion*, Phelps' *Still Hour*, Tholuck's *Hours of Christian Devotion*, Alexander's *Thoughts on Religious Experience*, Faber's *Hymns*. Our own Dr. William M. Paxton recommends especially: Hodge's *Way of Life*, Bishop Ryle's *Holiness*, Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, Owen's *Spiritual Mindedness*, and Faber's *Thoughts on Great Mysteries*. These are all good books and would richly repay your loving study. A hundred others could be added just as good.

It would be useless, however, to draw out a long list of books to be especially recommended. I shall venture to set down the titles of just a round dozen, which I look upon as indispensable. Each must be read for what it can give us: and in none of them shall we seek inspiration and instruction in vain. They come from every part of the Church and from every age, and they include representatives of every type of Christian thought, from the Mariolatrous Romanism of Thomas à Kempis or the bald Pelagianism of Sir Thomas Browne to the penetrating mysticism of the *Theologia Germanica* and the plain evangelicalism of John Newton. But they all are veritable devotional classics, and each of them has power in it to move and instruct the heart of whoever would live in the Spirit. Get at least these dozen booklets, keep them at your elbow, and sink yourselves in them with constant assiduity. They are:—Augustine's *Confessions*,\* *The Imitation of Christ*,† the *Theologia*

\* The editions are numerous. The best Latin text is that of Pius Knöll, which is accessible in the Teubner series of Latin texts (Leipzig. 1898). Of the English translations of the whole work, Dr. Pusey's is best both for the translation and its admirable notes. Dr. Shedd's edition of Watt's version contains an interesting Introduction. An excellent new translation of the first nine books, with introduction and notes, by Dr. C. Bigg, was published by Methuen in 1898.

† The editions are numerous and easily accessible in both Latin and English.

*Germanica*;\* Bishop Andrewes' *Private Devotions*;† Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ*;‡ Richard Baxter's *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*;§ Samuel Rutherford's *Letters*;|| John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*;¶ Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*;\*\* William Law's *Serious Call*;†† John Newton's *Cardiphonia*;‡‡ Bishop Thomas Wilson's *Sacra Privata*. §§ To these twelve I should add two or three others which have peculiar interest to us as Princetonians, and which I am sure are worthy of association with them—Jonathan Edwards' *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, Archibald Alexander's *Thoughts on Religious Experience*, and Charles Hodge's *Way of Life*.

I have purposely omitted from this list collections of hymns and (in general) of prayers, in order that I might recommend the use of both to you in a separate category. I strongly advise you to make yourselves familiar with the best religious verse, and occasionally to support your devotions with the best prayers to which saintly men have given permanent form. Faber's *Hymns* have a quality of intense adoration in them which recommends them to many as the best for such a purpose: Miss Rosetti's devotional poems are unsurpassed for elevation of feeling: many prefer the quieter note of Keble's *Christian Year*: others still love

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Much the best English translation is that by Dr. Charles Bigg, published in Methuen's series of Devotional Books. A new departure was made by the publication at Berlin in 1874, by Dr. C. Hirsche, of an edition the text of which is presented "metrice." The English version of this metrically arranged text, published by A. D. F. Randolph, New York, 1889, is somewhat diffuse but interesting.

\* Get the edition in Macmillan's *Golden Treasury Series*, edited by Dr. Pfeiffer, and translated by Susanna Winkworth.

† There are many editions. The best is *The Preces Privatae of Bishop Andrewes*, edited by F. E. Brightman, M.A. (London: Methuen, 1903). I recommend for the English reader also Dr. Alexander Whyte's edition (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896), to which is prefixed an admirable "Biography" and still more admirable "Interpretation."

‡ Printed in Vol. 2 of Heber's edition of his *Works*.

§ An edition is published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, and another in Methuen's series of Devotional Books.

|| Dr. Bonar's edition is the best (New York: Carter): cf. Dr. A. Whyte's *Samuel Rutherford and Some of His Correspondents*. The Messrs. Longmans publish an excellent selection from the letters, edited by Miss Lucy M. Soulsby, under the title of *Christ and His Cross*.

¶ A good edition is issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

\*\* The *Golden Treasury* edition (Macmillan) is particularly to be recommended.

†† Get the edition in Dent's *Temple Classics*.

‡‡ An edition is printed by the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

§§ Keble's edition (Oxford, 1860) is the standard. A good edition is *Bishop Wilson's Sacra Privata*, edited by A. E. Burn, B.D. (London: Methuen, 1903).

best the evangelical sobriety of *The Olney Hymns*, or the exotic flavor of Miss Winkworth's *Lyra Sacra Germanica*: others find more attractive the variety afforded by such a book as Dr. Schaff's *Christ in Song*. On the whole, I fancy most of you will find that Palgrave's *Treasury of Sacred Song* will meet your needs as well as any other single volume: it is a veritable treasure-house of the best of English religious poetry. As to collections of prayers, nothing is more inspiring than Lancelot Andrewes' *Private Devotions*, which I have already named in the general list of recommended devotional books, unless it be Anselm's *Meditations and Prayers*,\* which, despite the deforming hagiolatry which sometimes invades them, remain an example for all ages of how a great heart lifts itself up greatly to God.

There is yet another branch of religious reading which I think you will scarcely be able to neglect, if you would build yourself up into the full stature of manhood in Christ by the example of His saints. I refer to religious biography. Only let us remember that in selecting religious biographies to read with a view to our spiritual improvement, we must bear in mind that the adjective must be understood as qualifying the Life as well as the life: it must be the biographies themselves that are religious. It must be confessed that many of the greatest saints have been unfortunate in their biographers. Not only are their lives often written without a particle of literary skill, but equally often much of the religious impression of their holy walk has evaporated in the telling. Nevertheless from at least the time when the great Athanasius himself edified the Church with a life of Anthony—written, we fear, not without some imitation in form and content alike of the popular romances of the time†—the Church has never lacked a series of religious biographies which have in them the promise and potency of religious life for their readers. Dr. Stalker thinks the best of these for your use are Augustine's *Confessions*, Baxter's *Reliques*, Hanna's *Life of Chalmers*, Blaikie's *Life of Livingstone*, Witte's *Life of Tholuck*, and Brown's *Life of Rabbi Duncan*. The late Dr. William M. Taylor recommended Bonar's *Memoirs of McCheyne*, Hanna's *Life of Chalmers*, Arnot's *Memoir of James Hamilton*, Guthrie's *Memoirs*,

\* An English translation, with prefatory matter by Dr. Pusey, was published at Oxford in 1856. A good edition is that of London, 1872. The latest edition, *The Devotions of St. Anselm*, edited by C. C. J. Webb, M.A. (London: Methuen, 1903), contains only (along with the *Proslogion* and some letters) four each of the *Meditations* and *Prayers*.

† See a very interesting essay on "Greek and Early Christian Novels," pp. 357 sqq. of Mr. T. R. Glover's *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, 1901).

Blaikie's *Life of Livingstone*, J. G. Paton's *Autobiography*, and Dr. Prentiss' *Life and Letters of Mrs. Prentiss*. You will not fail to observe how Scotch Dr. Taylor's list is. Tastes will differ: the late Dean Goulburn wrote me simply that there were no religious biographies equal to Isaac Walton's. I shall not undertake to add a list of my own, which doubtless would have its peculiarities also. I shall content myself with a bare hint that you must not miss reading the great books. Such, for example, is Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*—the seventeenth century replica of Augustine's *Confessions*. Such also is John Newton's *Authentic Narrative*. Such also is Boston's *Memoirs* which can now be had in a worthy form.\* Such, also, is probably Doddridge's account of James Gardiner's remarkable life. And such certainly is Edwards' *Life of David Brainerd*. And if I am to judge by my own experience of its religious impression, such also is the *Life of Adolph Monod* by one of his daughters.

Along with religious biography may I venture to mention also religious fiction—the portrayal of the religious life under the cover of imagined actors? Take the *Chronicles of the Schoenberg-Cotta Family*. Take the *Heir of Redcliffe*. Who in the face of the experience of a generation can doubt the quickening influence of such books? A book that has played a part such as that played by the *Heir of Redcliffe* in the lives of men like Dr. A. Kuyper and Mr. William Morris is surely worthy of our serious attention as a religious force in the world. And speaking of these books brings to my lips the exclamation, What women the Church of Victorian England gave the world! Elizabeth Rundell Charles, Charlotte Mary Yonge, Frances Ridley Havergal, Dora Greenwell, Dora Pattison—the Lives of all of these are accessible to you as well as their writings—though some of them, I am sorry to say, are rather dully written. Put them by the side of the *Life of Mrs. Prentiss* recommended to us by Dr. Taylor, and learn from them what women Christianity is still making all around us.

Of *Sermons* I shall say nothing: they form a department of religious literature by themselves. But I have reserved for the last mention a class of religious literature which, for my own part, I esteem the very highest of all for spiritual impression. I refer to the great Creeds of the Church. He who wishes to grow strong in his religious life, let him, I say, next to the Bible, feed himself on the great Creeds of the Church. There is a force of religious inspi-

\* Edited by Rev. G. H. Morrison (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899).



ration in them which you will seek in vain elsewhere. And this for good reasons. First, because it is ever true that it is by the truth that sanctification is wrought. And next, because the truth is set forth in these Creeds with a clearness and richness with which it is set forth nowhere else. For these Creeds are not the products of metaphysical speculation, as many who know infinitesimally little about them are prone to assert, but are the compressed and weighted utterances of the Christian heart. I am not alone, of course, in so esteeming them. You will remember with what insistence Cardinal Newman warns us against "an untheological devotion," and with what force he expounds in his *Grammar of Assent* the spiritual import of the Creeds and Catechisms of the Church. For himself, he tells us, the Athanasian Creed has always seemed the most devotional formulary that Christianity has ever given birth to: and certainly readers of Dr. Gore's beautiful exposition of it as "the Battle-hymn of Christians" will not be slow to feel the truth of Dr. Newman's estimate. Dr. Alexander Whyte, in commenting on Andrewes' *Private Devotions*, takes up the theme afresh and remarks on the exemplification it receives in Andrewes' treatment of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. "When Andrewes takes up any of these things," he observes, "into his intellect, imagination and heart, he has already provided himself and his readers with another great prayer and another great psalm. So true is it that all true theology is directly and richly and evangelically devotional."

I do not think I go astray, therefore, when I say to you in all seriousness that the second and third volumes of Dr. Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom* have in them more food for your spiritual life—are "more directly, richly and evangelically devotional"—than any other book, apart from the Bible, in existence. Nor can I think myself wrong in directing you specifically to the Reformed Creeds as, above all others, charged with blessing to those who will read and meditate on their rich deposit of religious truth. Our Scotch forefathers turned for spiritual nourishment especially to "the Sum of Saving Knowledge and the Practical Use Thereof," which had come to be a stated portion of the current editions of the Confession of Faith, just because that volume circulated at first chiefly as a devotional book and a directory for practical religion. This treatise has never been a part of our "Church book." But in the Westminster Confession we have something even better. Read what Dr. Thornwell tells us of what the study of the Confession did for his soul,\* and then ask yourselves whether it may not do

\* See Palmer's *Life of Thornwell*, pp. 162, 165.

the same for you too. By the side of the Westminster Confession put the Heidelberg Catechism: where will you find more faithful, more probing Christian teaching than this? I beg you, brethren, feed your souls on the Christian truth set forth with so much combined clearness of apprehension and depth of feeling in these great formularies.

And so we come around at the end to the point from which we took our start. Religious knowledge and religious living go hand in hand. "It might be instructive to inquire," writes good Dr. Andrew A. Bonar,\* "why it is that whenever godliness is healthy and progressive we almost invariably find learning in the Church attendant on it: while, on the other hand, an illiterate state is attended sooner or later by decay of vital godliness." We deceive ourselves if we think we can give a portion of our being only to God. If we withhold the effort requisite to learn to know the truth, we cannot hope to succeed in any effort to do His will. Unknown truth cannot sanctify the soul; and it is by the truth that we are to be sanctified. Mind, heart and hand—true religious cultivation must embrace them all and carry on their training all together. We must indeed rebuke the lordly understanding if it essays to supersede the necessity of holy living. Our heart thrills responsively when the monk of Deventer, at the opening of his pungent book, asks us pointedly, How will it advantage you to know all things if you have no love?

"What is the profit," he demands, "of high argument on the Trinity if you lack humility and are offensive to the Trinity? Great words assuredly make no man holy and righteous; but by virtuous living he becomes dear to God. Far better feel compunction than have skill in defining it. Though you know the whole Bible and all the sayings of the philosophers, what would it all advantage you without God's love and grace? . . . It is natural to man to desire knowledge; but knowledge without the fear of God—of what avail is it?"

Yes, yes, our hearts reply: it is all true, greatly true! But beneath our assent does there not lurk an underlying sense, as we read on deeper into the exhortation, that there is something of the narrowness of mysticism in the sharp "either—or" that is thrust upon us? \*If we must choose between knowledge and life, why of course give us life! But why put the alternative so sharply? Must it be knowledge *or* life? Must it not rather be knowledge *and* life? *Non comprehenditur Deus per investigationem sed per imitationem*, says Hugh of St. Cher. Ah, but "investigation" is the first step in "imitation"; for how shall I strive to be like God, except by first discovering what God is like? And "imitation" itself—is it

\* Introduction to his ed. of *Rutherford's Letters*, N. Y., 1851, p. xvi.

after all the key-word of Christianity? It is, no doubt, a great word. But it is not the greatest. "Trust" is greater. And by the side of "trust" there stand but two others. "But now abideth," says Paul, "faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love."

Happily we have not been left to ourselves to make the correction. The Church has had greater teachers than even Thomas à Kempis. And a greater than he begins a greater book than his with greater words than he could give us:

"Great art Thou, O Lord, and highly to be praised; great is Thy power and Thy understanding is infinite. Yet Thee would man praise—though but a little particle of Thy creation: even man, who bears about with him his mortality, bears about with him the proof of his sin, even the proof that Thou resistest the proud: yea, Thee still would man praise, this little particle of Thy creation. 'Tis Thou that dost excite us to delight in Thy praise; for Thou didst make us for Thyself and our heart is restless till it find its rest in Thee. Grant me, Lord, to know whether I should first call upon Thee or praise Thee; whether I should first know Thee or call upon Thee. . . . Alas! Alas! tell me for Thy mercies' sake, O Lord, my God, what Thou art unto me. Say unto my soul, 'I am thy salvation.' So speak that I may hear. Behold, the ears of my heart are before Thee, O Lord: open Thou them and say to my soul, 'I am thy salvation.' Make me to run after Thy voice and lay hold on Thee. Hide not Thy face from me. Let me die that I die not: only let me see Thy face. Narrow is my soul's house; enlarge Thou it, that Thou mayest enter in. It is fallen into ruins: repair Thou it. There is that within it which must offend Thine eyes: I confess, I know it. But who shall cleanse it? Or to whom but to Thee shall I cry?"

Here, I venture to say, is the essence of all true religion. Humility of spirit is here rather than depreciation of intellect: trust in the mercy of God to sinners rather than dependence on deeds of man. There is no such note struck here as this: "Even though I knew everything in all the world and were not in charity, what would it advantage me in the sight of God, who will judge me *ex facto*." *Ex facto* indeed! Who that is judged by his works shall stand? It is not an antithesis of knowledge and works that Augustine draws. It is an antithesis of man and God: and its note is, "In Thee only do I put my trust, O Lord, for in Thee only is there salvation." *Dic 'Habeo,'* says he tersely, *sed, 'Ab Eo.'* It is an execrable word-play, but excellent theology, and the very quint-essence of religion. And when we have learned this well,—learned it so that it sounds in all the chambers of our hearts and echoes down through all the aisles of our lives,—we shall have learned the great lesson of practical religion.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

#### IV.

### JONATHAN EDWARDS: A STUDY.\*

I AM deeply indebted to your Committee for the honor they have done me in inviting me to take part in this celebration. My hesitation in accepting their invitation was due solely to the feeling I had that a son of New England could more appropriately than a stranger ask your attention to an appreciation of this great New Englander. This hesitation was overcome, partly by the cordiality with which the invitation was extended, and partly by the consideration that Princeton, where Edwards did his last work and where his body lies to-day, might well be represented on the occasion by which we have been assembled. Moreover, Princeton College, when Edwards was called to its presidency, was largely a New England institution of learning. Both of his predecessors in that office, Jonathan Dickinson and Aaron Burr, were natives of New England, graduates of the College at New Haven and Congregational ministers. Associated with Dickinson and Burr in the planting of the College were not only other Yale men, but Harvard men also: Ebenezer Pemberton and David Cowell and Jacob Green and, above all, Jonathan Belcher, sometime Royal Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts and *ex-officio* Overseer of Harvard, his *alma mater*; who, when afterward he was commissioned Royal Governor of the Province of New Jersey, to repeat his own words, "adopted as his own this infant College," gave to it a new and more liberal charter, and so largely aided it by private gifts and official influence that its Trustees called him its "founder, patron and benefactor." I am glad as a Princeton man to find in the anniversary of the birth of one of its Presidents an opportunity to acknowledge the University's great debt to New England. And, if you will permit a personal remark, I cannot forget that in coming to these services I am returning to the Commonwealth of which I

\* Address delivered in the Meeting House of the Parish Church of Stockbridge, Mass., October 5, 1903, at the celebration, by the Berkshire Conferences of Congregational Churches, of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jonathan Edwards; and repeated in Miller Chapel, Princeton Theological Seminary, October 16, 1903.



am proud to have been a citizen, and to the Massachusetts Association of Congregational Ministers whose list of pastors for six successive years contained my name.\* I should have to efface the memory of a pastorate exceptionally happy, and of unnumbered acts of kindness from the living and the dead, in order not to feel grateful and at home to-day.

But, after all, the highest justification of this commemoration of a man born two centuries ago is not that his genius and character and career reflect glory on the people and the class from whom he sprang, but that they contain notable elements of universal interest and value. The great man is great because in some great way he adequately addresses, not what is exceptional, not what is distinctive of any class or people, but what is human and common to the race; to whose message, therefore, men respond as men; whose eulogists and interpreters are not necessarily dwellers in his district or people of his blood; who is the common property of all to study, to enjoy, to revere and to celebrate. It is, above all, because Jonathan Edwards belongs to this small and elect class that we are gathered to honor his memory by recalling his story and reflecting on the elements of his greatness.

It would be inappropriate, certainly in this place and before this audience, for a stranger to repeat the well-known story of his life. I shall better meet your expectations if I shall reproduce the impressions of the man made on me by a renewed study of his collected writings and his life.

We shall agree that the inward career of Edwards was singularly self-consistent; that from its beginning to its close it is exceptionally free from incongruities and contradictions; that in him Wordsworth's line, "The child is father to the man," finds a signal illustration. When we are brought into contact with a life so unified, whose development along its own lines has not been hindered or distorted by external disturbances as violent even as that suffered by Edwards at Northampton, we naturally look for its principle of unity, the dominating quality which subordinated to itself all the others, or, if you like, which so interpenetrated all his other traits as to become his distinctive note. We are confident that such a quality there must have been, and that if we are happy enough at once to find it, we shall have in our possession the master key which, so far as may be to human view, will open to us the departments of his thought and feeling and activity.

A century later than Edwards there was born another great New

\*Pastor of the Central Church, Boston.

Englander—Ralph Waldo Emerson—between whom and Edwards there is a strong likeness as well as a sharp contrast. Because this is his centennial year, Emerson like Edwards is just now especially present to our minds, and one is tempted to compare and contrast the two. To this temptation I shall not yield. But in order that we may properly approach and seize for ourselves a fine formula of Edwards' dominant quality, permit me to recall to you a study of Emerson by a *litterateur* of great charm and wide acceptance. Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his well-known lecture, says that Emerson is "not a great poet," he "is not a great man of letters," he "is not a great philosopher." Mr. Arnold, I think, does great injustice to Emerson in two of these negations. If I did not think so I should not associate him with so great a man as Edwards. I am not, indeed, concerned to defend the claims of Emerson to "a place among the great philosophers." His treatment of particular subjects was marked by discontinuity; and his tendency to gnomic, sententious forms of speech betrayed him not seldom into overstatement or exaggeration. Now, than discontinuity and overstatement there can scarcely be conceived more deadly foes to system-building, to the construction of a world-theory; and the construction of a world-theory is the end of all philosophizing. It may be questioned whether Emerson ever permitted himself to rest in any fixed theory of the universe. I have the impression that for a fixed view of the universe he never felt the need, and that from all actual views of the universe which have been fixed in formulas he revolted. And, therefore, when Mr. Arnold says, "Emerson cannot be called with justice a great philosophical writer—he cannot build, he does not construct a philosophy," I do not know on what grounds we can dissent from his statement.

But when he goes further and, with the same positiveness, says, "We have not in Emerson a great writer or a great poet," Mr. Arnold passes from the region of opinion based on considerations whose force all estimate alike, into the region of opinion which has its source and ground in mere individual temperament and taste. Moreover, greatness is a word so vague as scarcely to raise a definite issue; and this fact might well have prevented so careful and acute a critic from employing it to deny to Emerson a quality which Mr. Arnold would have found difficult to define. Certainly this much can be said. If Emerson is not "a great writer, a great man of letters," yet, in his unfolding of ideas and in his portrayal and criticism of nature and of life, he has nobly fulfilled and is still

fulfilling the function of a great man of letters to thousands of disciplined minds; interpreting for them and teaching them to interpret nature and man, educating their judgments, cultivating their taste, introducing them to "the best that has been thought and written," and stimulating and ennobling their whole intellectual life. And if he is not, as Mr. Arnold says he is not, "sensuous and impassioned" in his poetry, we must not forget that reflective poetry is Emerson's best and most characteristic poetic achievement; that reflective poetry cannot possibly be "sensuous and impassioned"; and that Mr. Arnold is prejudiced against all reflective poetry, and, indeed, does not think it poetry, whether it be Emerson's or Wordsworth's.

But though Mr. Arnold does Emerson injustice in these two negative propositions; I think that, in his positive statement, he has firmly seized and happily formulated Emerson's dominating quality. He has given us the real clue to the significance of Emerson's literary product, regarded as a whole, when he says of him: "Emerson is the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit." The friendship of Emerson for "those who would live in the spirit" is, indeed, his characteristic trait. He is also their "aider," as Mr. Arnold says. But the aid he offers them is conditioned precisely by the fact that he is a man of letters and a poetic interpreter of nature and of life, and that he does not bring to them a philosophy. I say, the aid he offers is conditioned by this lack of a philosophy; and by conditioned I mean limited. For because of it the realm of nature and spirit, as he presents it, is vast indeed, but vague and undefined and, so far forth, unrevealed. And therefore, as Mr. Arnold himself points out, his aid is confined to the sphere of the moral sentiments and action. Mr. Arnold does, indeed, express the opinion that "as Wordsworth's poetry is the most important work done in verse in our language in the nineteenth century, so Emerson's essays are the most important work done in prose." But this is the language of purely personal judgment. Far more important for us in estimating Emerson, with Mr. Arnold's help, as "an aider of those who would live in the spirit," is the sentence in which he formulates the precise content of the aid which Emerson extends. And this is the sentence: "Happiness in labor, righteousness and veracity; in all the life of the spirit; happiness and eternal hope—that was Emerson's gospel." A fair and felicitous description it is. And how clearly it reveals the limit of the aid which Emerson's gospel offers! How clearly it reveals that the aid extended is not the aid of a

great thinker in the sphere of ultimate knowing and absolute being, but is aid confined to the sphere of the moral sentiments and action!

Thus, by a route somewhat circuitous indeed, but I trust not wholly without interest or propriety, we reach, in Mr. Arnold's characterization of Emerson, the formula of which I spoke as finely expressing Edwards' dominating and unifying quality. Edwards like Emerson is, above all else and by eminence, "the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit." Who that knows him at all will deny to him a right equal to that of Emerson to this high title? Of course, they differ widely both in the aid they offer and in their methods of offering it. Emerson's aid is conditioned and limited, as I have already said, by his want of a firm and self-consistent doctrine of the universe, by his want of a philosophy. And we must be just as ready to acknowledge that Edwards' aid is as clearly conditioned and limited by his unfortunate poverty in the humanities, by his notable lack of feeling for poetry and letters. On the other hand and positively I think we may say, that it would be hard to name a man of letters who, having separated himself from all formulated philosophical and religious beliefs, has more nearly than Emerson exhausted the resources of letters and poetry in the service of "those who would live in the spirit." And among the great doctors of the Christian Church, it would be as hard to name one more distinctively spiritual in character and aim than Edwards, or one who, in cultivating the spiritual life in himself and promoting it in others, has more consistently or more ably drawn on the resources of his philosophy, his world-view, his Christian doctrine of the universe.

I am quite sure that this obvious likeness and difference between Edwards and Emerson is the right point of departure for any large study of their affinity and opposition. Such a study the day invites us to mention, but does not permit us to undertake. The day belongs, not to the great Puritan who gave up the Puritan conception of the universe for its interpretation by poetry and letters, but to the great Puritan who denied himself the high satisfactions of literature, that through his distinctively Christian doctrine of God and man he might be "the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit." It is to his spirituality, and to his intellectual gifts and work, that I ask your attention.



## I.

How many writers have portrayed what one of them calls the "spirituality of mind" of the Northern and Teutonic peoples! One of the most striking passages in Taine's *English Literature* contrasts in this particular the Latin and Teutonic races. And a New England theologian and man of letters, in unfolding the truth that the Northern nations of Europe, unlike the Southern, were "spiritual in their modes of thought," calls our attention to the fact that "the Northern heathen had fewer gods than the Southern, and could believe in their reality without the aid of visible form. He hewed no idol, and he erected no temple; he worshiped his divinity in spirit, beneath the open sky, in the free air." How far this spiritual temper can be attributed to climate, to "the influences which rained down from the cold Northern sky," we cannot say. Racial character would best be accepted as an ultimate fact. The fact itself is certain, that among the European peoples, the race to which Edwards belonged was most strongly marked by this spiritual quality. Moreover, it was precisely by the greater strength and intensity of this racial quality that the Puritan class was separated as a class from their own people. Spirituality is what the logicians call the specific difference of Puritanism. The unshaken belief in the reality of the spiritual universe, the ability to realize its elements without the aid of material symbols, the strong impulse to find motives to action in the unseen and eternal, to feed the intellect and the heart on spiritual objects, and in distinctively spiritual experiences or exercises to discern the highest joys and the deepest sorrows and the great crises of life—these were the traits of the Puritans. And these traits were exhibited, not by a few cloistered souls who obeyed the "counsels of perfection" and were secluded from their fellows by special vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience, but by the mass of the population in Puritan New England; by countrymen and villagers and citizens and statesmen. This spirituality organized the governments and determined the politics of vigorous commonwealths. Theocratic republics, as spiritual as that which, under Savonarola, had so short a life in Florence, flourished for generations on American soil. It was in this Puritan society that Jonathan Edwards' American ancestors lived. They were typical Puritans, justly esteemed and influential in the communities in which they dwelt. The convictions, traditions and spirit of the class were theirs. This was especially true of both his father and his mother. The simplicity, the sincerity,

the spirituality of Puritanism at its best were incarnate in them; and it was the Puritan ideal of life which, before his birth, they prayed might be actualized in their unborn child.

Belonging to this spiritual race, sprung from this spiritual class, descended from such an ancestry and born of such a parentage, we have the right to anticipate that his dominant quality will be this spirituality of which I have spoken. We have the right to look for what Dr. Egbert Smyth calls, "Edwards' transcendent spiritual personality," and concerning which he says, that "the spiritual element" in Edwards "is not a mere factor in a great career, a strain in a noble character. It is his calmest mood as well as his most impassioned warning or pleading, his profoundest reasoning, his clearest insight, his widest outlook. It is the solid earth on which he treads." Dr. Smyth has thus stated in suggestive phrase the supreme truth concerning Edwards; the truth that his dominating quality, his differentiating trait, his prevailing habit of mind, is spirituality. The time at my disposal does not permit the illustration of this great quality in any adequate way. I can only touch on a few particulars which may help us better to appreciate it.

The careful student of Edwards is deeply impressed, first of all, by his immediate vision of the spiritual universe as the reality of realities. When I speak of the spiritual universe, I am giving a name to no indefinite object of thought. I mean God in His supernatural attributes of righteousness and love, the moral beings created in His image, the relations between them, and the thoughts and feelings and activities which emerge out of these relations. This was the universe in which Edwards lived and moved and had his being. As he apprehended it, it was no mere subjective experience, no mere plexus of sensations and thoughts and volitions. It was the one fundamental substance and the one real existence. It was the one objective certainty which stands over against the shadowy and illusory phenomena that we group under the title matter. And his vision of it was vivid and in a sense complete. He knew it not only in its several parts, but as a whole; as an ordered universe; as the macrocosm which he, the microcosm, reflected and to which he responded.

All this is true in a measure, to be sure, of all the other saints and, indeed, of the sinners also. It is in what I have called the immediacy of his spiritual apprehension that his distinction lies. There is, of course, a sense in which the spiritual world is immediately discerned by all of us. It is of spirit rather than of

matter that our knowledge is direct. That consciousness of a self which cannot be construed in terms of matter, or that idea of self which is a necessary postulate of all our thinking brings us at once into the universe of spirit. But in order to the vivid realization of this spiritual universe, there is necessary for the most of us a special activity or experience. And by this activity or experience our realization of the spiritual world is mediated. Edwards, in this respect, is a remarkable exception in his own class. Consider some great and notable men of the spiritual type. Consider St. Augustine. How true it is that the great elements of the spiritual world became vivid to Augustine through the mediation of his experience of sin! And that these spiritual elements were always interpreted by the aid of that experience his *Confessions* abundantly testify. Or think of Dante. As Augustine reveals in his *Confessions* the instrumental relation to his deepening spirituality of the long period of sinful storm and stress, Dante makes perfectly clear to us in *The New Life* that it was the love of Beatrice which so mediated for him the spiritual world and so brought him under its sway, that in order to repeat and interpret the vision of it he laid under contribution his total gifts and learning. Or take John Calvin. That fruitful conception—more fruitful in Church and State than any other conception which has held the English-speaking world—of the absolute and universal sovereignty of the Holy God as a revolt from the conception then prevailing of the sovereignty of the human head of an earthly Church, was historically the mediator and instaurator of his spiritual career.

Now Edwards is distinguished from Augustine, Dante and Calvin by the fact that his intuition of the spiritual universe was, in the sense in which I have used the word, immediate. To a degree I should be unwilling to affirm of any other man I have studied, except one, his spirituality was natural. That he was a sinner, needing regeneration and atonement, he knew. That these were his blessed experience he was gratefully assured. But except the apostle called by eminence "the Theologian," St. John the Divine, I know no other great character in Church History of whom it can so emphatically be said, that when he "breathed the pure serene" of the spiritual world and gazed upon its outstanding features, or explored its recesses, or studied the inter-relations of its essential elements, he did so as "native and to the manner born." To quote again the words of Dr. Smyth: "It is the solid earth on which he treads, its sleeping rocks and firm-set hills."

The spiritual universe, thus vividly and immediately apprehended as the reality of realities, of course, became, in turn, the interpreter to himself of all he did and felt. It became even the regnant principle of his association of ideas, so that the unpurposed movements of his mind in reverie were determined by it. How influential in his earliest thinking it was, you will see if you study his *Notes* on mind and ultimate being; and how persistent it was, you will see in his latest observations on *The End of God in Creation*. It governed his æsthetics also. The line between æsthetic emotion and spiritual feeling is sharp, and wide, and deep. Often as the two are confounded by those whose sensibilities are strongly stirred by beauty in nature or in fine art, it is still true that they are as distinct as spirit and matter. The æsthetic emotion is ultimate and never can be made over into spiritual affection. No one knew this better than Edwards. But through both reflection and experience he reached and formulated the conclusion, that the highest and most enduring æsthetic emotion is that which is called out not by material beauty but by holiness. And he may be said to have unfolded the great mediæval phrase, "The beatific vision of God," into the doctrine of the highest beauty, in his epoch-making treatise—epoch-making in America certainly the treatise was—on *The Nature of Virtue*. This seems to me a striking instance of the way in which his spirituality permeated and irradiated his thinking.

I think that even the traits of Edwards' style are best explained by this same quality. It has often been said of him that style is precisely what Edwards lacked. We are told that, after reading *Clarissa Harlowe*, he expressed regret that in his earlier years he did not pay more attention to style. We may be thankful certainly that he did not form his style on that of the affluent Richardson. I am unable to share the regret he expressed; unless, indeed, it was a regret that he did not always take pains to make his literary product eminent in the qualities of style which always marked it. Edwards was above all things sincere; and his style is the man. Its qualities are clearness, severe simplicity, movement and force. In these he is eminent, almost as eminent as John Locke; and he is more eminent in his later than in his earlier compositions. They finely fit his theme and his spirit. His theme in substance is one. It is the spiritual universe, in some aspect of it. And his spirit is that of a man dominated by those spiritual affections which he teaches us are a lively action of the will. It was appropriate that his style should be calm and severe, and that even in his sermons it should lack the dilation and rhythm of a rapt prophet's emo-



tional utterance. Edwards was no Montanist. He was a seer, indeed, but a seer with a clear vision; and the spirit of the prophet was subject to the prophet. No man of his day was, so far as I know, the subject of stronger or deeper spiritual affections. But no one knew better just what spiritual affections are. He knew especially how different they are from mere sensibility; and he was always calm under their sway. No other style than his could have so well reflected and expressed this spiritual, unhysterical man. And I must believe that his is the direct fruit of his spiritual quality. Certainly, it was spiritually effective. Never did any one's discourse make a more powerful and at the same time a more distinctively and exclusively spiritual impression on audience or readers. One of the most charming of modern poems is that in which Tennyson portrays the Lady Godiva, that she might take the tax from off her people, riding at high noon through Coventry "naked, but clothed on with chastity." So seem to me the bare and unadorned sermons and discussions of Edwards. Straight through his subject to his goal this master moves; unadorned yet not unclothed, but clothed upon with spirituality.

Or consider Edwards' emotional life. Dr. Allen, of Cambridge, in his paper on *The Place of Edwards in History*, has dwelt fondly on what he calls the spiritual affinity between Dante and Edwards. He makes the remark, that "the deepest affinity of Edwards was not that with Calvin or with Augustine, but with the Florentine poet." Now, I am sure, that of his affinity with Augustine and with Calvin Edwards was distinctly conscious. But nowhere, so far as I know, is there the slightest intimation that he had any interest in Dante's *New Life* or *The Divine Comedy*. He was no idealizing poet, no literary artist, no allegorizer; and he seems to have taken little or no pleasure in this kind of literature. Had there been a fundamental sympathy between Dante and Edwards, it would have expressed itself in Edwards' works with Edwards' characteristic distinctness. But not only is Dante not mentioned, but, what is more striking, there is not an allusion, I think, in Edwards' works to the poems of the Puritan John Milton or the allegories of the Puritan John Bunyan. This seems inexplicable on Dr. Allen's theory of a strong affinity between the New England theologian and the Florentine poet. Most unhappy, however, is the palmary instance of this alleged affinity selected by Dr. Allen for remark. It is what he calls the striking spiritual likeness between Dante's words touching his first sight of Beatrice and Edwards' description of Sarah Pierpont. I refer

to them, not to criticise Dr. Allen, but because the striking contrast between them helps us the better to appreciate the regnancy of Edwards' spiritual quality, even when he was under the spell of earthly love.

And the contrast is striking. Dante in noble and beautiful words describes the dress that Beatrice wore. "Her dress on that day was a most noble color, a subdued and goodly crimson, girded and adorned in such sort as best suited with her tender age." He exalts her in a way which Edwards would have severely reproofed, in the words, "Behold the deity which is stronger than I, who coming to me will rule within me." And he confesses in powerful and poetic phrases the violent effect upon his body which his strong emotion produced. The whole picture is charming, poetic, ideal, and was written in a book for the public years after the boy had seen the girl. The greatest poet of his time, if not of all time, in maturer life looks back upon the meeting and, with consummate art, I do not say with insincerity, transfigures it.

How different is Edwards' well-known description of Sarah Pierpont! It was written in Edwards' youth, four years before his marriage; not in a book for the public, but on a blank leaf for his own eye. In its own way it is as engaging as Dante's. But its way is not artistic or imaginative at all. It is distinctively and exclusively spiritual. There is no idealization, no translation of the object of his love into a symbol, no physical transport, no agitation, no "shaking of the pulses of the body." We learn nothing of Sarah Pierpont's dress or appearance or temperament. All he tells us about her is about her spiritual qualities and her relations to the spiritual universe. And at the last, on his deathbed, he sends to his absent wife, this Sarah Pierpont, his love; and again speaks of the uncommon union between them as, he trusts, spiritual and therefore immortal. Read in connection with the brief references to his household life to be found in his biography, these passages bring before us a man whose closest and tenderest earthly love was transfigured, not by artistic genius, but by what I have called his dominating spirituality. And both passages issue naturally out of that spiritual conception of beauty which he has so finely unfolded in the great essay on Virtue.

This same quality manifests itself in the impartiality and impersonality of his feeling under conditions well calculated to awaken strong partial and personal feelings. Go through the whole history of the unfortunate Northampton controversy. Read the correspondence of Edwards, his speeches before the several Councils and the

*Farewell Sermon.* Or mark his behavior under the trying conditions of a recrudescence in Stockbridge of the enmity shown at Northampton. And you will see what I mean, when I say that his spirituality is exhibited in the impartiality of his feelings and the impersonality of their objects. You will agree with me that in all of it he was true to his thesis; that private feelings must be subordinated to that benevolence, that spiritual love of being in general, which is the essence of virtue. Indeed, I recall no other instance of a severe and protracted trial, in which the chief figure appears so unconcerned about everything except its spiritual significance.

But it is in the work to which he gave himself, in the subjects on which he labored, in his method of treatment, in the conclusions he reached, that Edwards' spirituality is most impressively revealed. He was interested apparently in nothing but the spiritual universe and the spiritual life. Of course, the whole of Edwards is not known to us. We rarely, if ever, catch sight of him in his avocations, so strong was his sense of vocation. I discover in him no interest in politics, in literature, in the plastic or even the intellectual arts. In distinctively intellectual pursuits other than religious he did at times engage. But he engaged in them, certainly in his maturer years, only in order to the thorough concentration of his powers on his spiritual work. Thus, when his mind was strained by excessive study and would not hold itself to a severely spiritual train of thought, or when his imagination rose in rebellion and tempted him, he whipped each into subjection by setting his powers to the solution of a difficult mathematical problem; and so he regained possession of himself solely for high spiritual purposes. And how spiritual his purposes were let the titles of his works testify, from the first published sermon to the great treatises on Sin, Virtue and the Will, and finally the great Body of Divinity in historical form, which in his letter to the Trustees of Princeton he describes as his coming work, and in describing which his soul expands and his style, almost for the first time, becomes rhythmical.

We are therefore entitled to say with emphasis that the dominant quality of Edwards is spirituality—spirituality of mind, of feeling, of aim and action. The spiritual universe was for him not only the most certain and substantial of realities, but the exclusive object of contemplation. Purely spiritual feeling seems to have filled in his life the great spaces which in the lives of most men are occupied by passionate sensibilities and æsthetic pleasures. Or we may better say, that his exceptional personality was the alembic in which these sensibilities and pleasures were transmuted into the pure

distillate of spiritual feeling; until all his outgoing and active affections rested on spiritual qualities and objects, and all his reactions of emotion were the blessednesses of the spirit. When his will energized and called the great powers of his intellect into action, it was on the most spiritual themes that his mind wrought with the greatest ease and geniality. Distant in manner and reserved on most subjects, whenever he conversed about heavenly and divine things of which his heart was so full, "his tongue," says Dr. Samuel Hopkins, "was as the pen of a ready writer." The spiritual world so completely possessed him that its contemplation and exposition seems never to have tired him. After receiving the invitation to Princeton, he told his eldest son that for many years he had spent fourteen hours a day in his study. Spiritual thinking and feeling were thus both his labor and his recreation.

This exclusive spirituality of Edwards explains his lack of charm and interest. For obviously he is lacking here. Compare with the lack of interest in Edwards the interest the world has always taken in Luther, in the stormy career of Knox, in the incessant and varied activity of Calvin, and earlier than these in the dramatic life of Augustine. Shall we say that he charms us less because he was a more spiritual man, or only because he was more exclusively spiritual; because he was less wealthily endowed with humane sympathies? Is it because of his delicate organization and feeble vitality? Or is it because, under the domination of the spiritual universe, and knowing well his own powers and limitations, he determined to know this one thing only? Or is it, after all, only the defect of his biographers? I do not know. Certainly he presents a striking contrast to the other great spiritual men whom I have named. And I think we are bound to acknowledge that his remarkable separation in spirit from the feelings and tastes and occupations of the people seriously limited his usefulness, and seriously limits it to-day. But when all is said, his spirituality is his strength. And in a world where social charm and sympathy is abundant, and where high and exclusive spirituality is in the greatest men as rare as radium; we ought to rejoice that of one of the greatest it is true that he was bond-slave to the spiritual world.

The clue to Edwards then, his dominating and irradiating quality, the trait which gave unity to his career, is his spirituality. His was indeed, to repeat the fine word of Dr. Egbert Smyth. "a transcendent spiritual personality."



## II.

I have detained you so long on this subject that I must treat briefly and inadequately Edwards' intellect and work.

It was as a bond-slave then to the spiritual universe that all his work was done. Now his work was not that of a philanthropist or a missionary. ~~It was the work of a thinker.~~ The instrument with which he wrought was his intellect; and the word which describes the quality as distinguished from the subject of his writings is the word, intellectual. This is as true of his sermons as it is of his elaborate treatises. And, as a whole, his works constitute an intellectual system of the spiritual universe.

Eminently intellectual in his activity, Edwards, so far as I can see, had no intellectual pride. His intellect he regarded simply as an instrument to be employed in the service of the spiritual world. And as such an instrument, if we would do him justice, we must regard it. We must seize and estimate its outstanding traits, as they reveal themselves in this characteristic activity which he solemnly accepted as his vocation. What, then, were the distinctive traits of Edwards' intellect, and what position must we assign to him among intellectual men, especially among theologians?

The genius of Luther and that of Calvin have often been contrasted. There is a general agreement that while Luther saw single truths with the greater clearness and the sooner recognized their capital value, to Calvin must be attributed in greater measure the gift of construction; the great gift by which he organized in a system the principles of the Protestant Reformation. Now though Edwards nowhere shows the boldness and originality of either of these men; though he never inaugurated a new mode of Christianity like Luther or organized its theology like Calvin, and, therefore, holds no place beside them in history; he had both a gift of penetration like Luther's and a gift of construction like Calvin's. It is also true, I think, that in the subtlety of his intellect he was greater than either. The man of all men whom he seems to me most like intellectually and, indeed, every way—in the character of his religious experience, in his genial acceptance of the theological system he inherited, in his philosophical insight, in his power in the exposition of abstract truth, in his fruitfulness, in his constructive ability and in his failure nevertheless to leave behind him a completed system, in his fundamental philosophical and theological views, in his idealism and Platonism—is Anselm of Canterbury. And, having regard to the works they have left

behind them—the one, the *Monologium* and *Proslogium*, the *Tract on Predestination*, the *Prayers and Meditations*, the *Essay on Free Will* and the *Cur Deus Homo*, and the other, the great sermons, the treatises on *The Nature of Virtue*, *The End of God in Creation*, *Original Sin*, *Justification by Faith*, *The Religious Affections* and *The Nature of the Freedom of the Will*—I think that Edwards stands fully abreast of the mediæval philosopher and theologian. Had Dante known Edwards as we know him, he would have given him a place beside Anselm in the Heaven of the Sun.

In saying that Edwards is like Anselm, I have also in mind the fact that there are two great classes of theologians. All Christian theology rests on Holy Scripture. But theologians strikingly differ among themselves in the importance they respectively assign to the history of doctrine and the Church's symbols on the one hand, and to the concord between the Word of God and the reason on the other. In the mediæval Church there were school divines who rested solely on history and authority; who had no confidence in the argument from the reason; who did not believe that there is a *theologia naturalis*. This tendency was strongest, perhaps, in the [Franciscan, Duns Scotus. In modern Protestant Churches, the tendency is, perhaps, strongest in the high Anglican writers. Now while Edwards was in harmony with the Reformed Confessions, the absence of the Confessional or historical spirit is noticeable in all his theological treatises. The lack of it is explained partly by his training. In the curriculum of the American Colonial College historical studies were slight and elementary, while studies which discipline the powers were pursued with a vigor and sincerity which the modern University would do well to promote. We must regret, I think, the lack in this great American theologian of large historical culture and, by consequence, of the historical spirit. Because of it there is, in the positiveness of his assertions, in his strong confidence in logical analysis and dialectic in themselves, and in his historical generalizations in *The History of Redemption*, a quality which it is right to call provincial.

But if he is defective at this point, it is not too much to say, that he is one of the greatest Doctors of the Universal Church by reason of his singular eminence in three capital qualities. In the first place, he is far more powerful than most theologians in his appeal to the reason in man. I mean the reason in its largest sense and as distinguished from the understanding. The reason itself, he held, as if he were a Cambridge Platonist, has a large spiritual content. If

I understand him, he went beyond the Westminster Divines in the value he put upon the Light of Nature. Of his actual appeal to the reason, including under that term the conscience and the religious nature, I have time only to say that it permeates and gives distinction to his entire theological product. He addresses it with large confidence in his sermons, in his essay on *The End of God in Creation*, in his chapter on the *Satisfaction of Christ* written in the very spirit of the *Cur Deus Homo*, in all his endeavors to quicken in reader and hearer the sense of guilt and the fear of its punishment, in his great discourse on *Spiritual Light*, and in his great volume on the *Religious Affections*. In all of them a consummate theologian of the reason distinctly appears. To this we must add his supremacy in the related gifts of clear exposition, subtle distinction, and acute polemic. To this supremacy the world has borne abundant testimony. If he is like Anselm in his high estimate of the reason, he is like Thomas Aquinas in his dialectical acuteness. Nor is this acuteness mere quickness of vision and alertness in logical fence. His two greatest polemic works are probably the essays on *Original Sin* and *The Freedom of the Will*. Both of them are profound as well as acute; both are large in their conception of the subject; and in both he is fair to his antagonist, and, though not so largely, yet as really constructive as he is polemic. To these we must add, finally, a consummate genius for theological construction. No one can go through his collected works even rapidly, as I was compelled to do this summer, without seeing that a self-consistent World-view or theory of the Universe was distinct and complete in the consciousness of Edwards, and that it is the living root out of which springs every one of his sermons and discussions. No theological writer is less atomistic. None is less the prey of his temporary impulses or aberrations. No theological essays less merit the name of *disjecta membra*. The joy of the completed literary presentation of this universal system, this spiritual and intellectual Cosmos, was denied him. But it is in his works, just as completely as Coleridge's system is in the *Biographia Literaria* and the *Table Talk*, just as clearly as Pascal's Pyrrhonism lies open to us in his fragmentary *Thoughts*. Had he lived to complete at Princeton his *History of Redemption*, his "body of divinity in an entire new method," it is my belief that the world would have seen in it the fruit of a constructive genius not less great than that which appears in the *Summa* of St. Thomas or in the *Institutes* of Calvin.

Though no theologian more habitually conceived the spiritual

world as objective, yet his great powers and special talents wrought best, and he produced his best work, when he was writing on the religious life. That life he knew well, because of his own profound and vivid religious experience. But he never wrote out of his experience alone. The spiritual universe as a whole is before him as he writes. It is always therefore the ideal religious life of the redeemed sinner he is describing. Hence its severity, its purity, its deep humility as it measures itself with the absolute ethical and spiritual perfection. If we do not wish to sink into despair, we must not forget this as we read the greatest of his tracts, the essay on *The Religious Affections*.

A theologian, so profound and so individual as Edwards was, could not but have made many contributions of the highest importance to theological science. Now whatever Edwards' distinctive contributions to theology were, it is important to notice that they were contributions to the historical theology of the Christian Church. He was in full concord with the great Ecumenical Councils on the Trinity and the Person of Christ. He thoroughly accepted the formal and material principles of the Reformation. And he was convinced of the truth of the great system known as Calvinism, or the Reformed Theology. His greatness as a theologian and his fruitfulness as a writer are rooted in the consent of his heart, as well as the assent of his mind, to these historical doctrines. And though, as I have said, individually he was not distinctly informed by the historical spirit, yet he is in the line of the historical succession of Christian theologians.

Turning to these distinctive contributions I have time to name only one; but that one has been of immense historical importance in America. Jonathan Edwards changed what I may call the centre of thought in American theological thinking. There were great theologians in New England before Edwards. I mention only John Norton of Ipswich, and Samuel Willard of Harvard. They followed the Reformed School Divines not only in making the decree of God the constitutive doctrine of the system, but in emphasizing it. Edwards did not displace the eternal Decree as the constitutive doctrine; but by a change in emphasis he lifted into the place of first importance in theological thinking in America the inward state of man in nature and in grace. He appears to have been led strongly to emphasize these related themes, partly by the Great Awakening, and partly by the controversy on the Half-way Covenant which followed it. No one, however, but a man of genius could have made this change in emphasis so potent a fact in Ameri-



can Church history. It is impossible to exaggerate the influence thus exerted by Edwards on American theological and religious discussions and on American religious life. If I may so say, here is the open secret of the New England theology from Samuel Hopkins to Horace Bushnell. And more than to any other man, to Edwards is due the importance which, in American Christianity, is attributed to the conscious experience of the penitent sinner, as he passes into the membership of the Invisible Church.

Quite as important as this distinctive contribution is the tremendous stimulus and impetus he gave to theological speculation and construction. When I think of the Edwardean School of New England theologians from Samuel Hopkins to Edwards Park, between whom are included so many brilliant men, too many even to be named at this time; when I think of the Edwardean theologians in my own Church, like Henry Boynton Smith and William Greenough Thayer Shedd; when I think of the fruitful history of his works in Scotland and England, and recall his real mastery over the minds he influenced; it seems to me that it is not too much to say that, up to this time, his influence in the English-speaking world—not on all thinking, but on distinctively dogmatic thinking—has been as great as that of either Joseph Butler or Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

I have thus endeavored to set before you my impressions of Edwards' dominating quality, his intellectual gifts, and the kind of work he did; and to state the place which in my view he holds among the theologians of the Universal Church. I have refrained from eulogy. He is too consummate and sincere a master for us to approach with the language of compliment. But I should incompletely perform the duty you have devolved upon me, did I fail to speak of two of his works which have been violently and repeatedly attacked. One is the essay on *The Freedom of the Will*. The other is the *Sermons on the Punishment of the Wicked*.

The essay on the *Freedom of the Will* is essentially a polemic, and only incidentally a constructive treatise. As a polemic, therefore, it must be judged. He had before his mind, not the whole voluntary nature of man as a subject to be investigated, but the special Arminian doctrine of the liberty of indifference as an error to be antagonized. What, therefore, the essay shows is, not his constructive ability, but his ability as an antagonist. I have read carefully only one other treatise in which the propositions as obviously move forward in procession, with steps as firmly locked together. This other treatise is the *Ethics* of Spinoza. If you dare

consentingly to follow Spinoza through his three kinds of knowledge up to his definition of substance—which, since it is thought not in a higher category but in itself, is self-existent; which is and can be one only; and whose known attributes “perceived to be of the essence of this substance” are infinite thought and infinite extension—if you follow Spinoza thus far; you will soon find yourself imprisoned in a universe of necessity, and bound in it by a chain of theorems, corollaries and lemmas impossible to be broken at any point. Your only safety is in obeying the precept, *Obsta principiis*. Quite equal to Spinoza’s is Edwards’ essay in its close procession of ordered argument. Like Spinoza he begins his treatise with definitions. And I cannot see how anyone, who permits himself to be led without protest through the first of the “Parts” of the essay, can refuse to go on with him at any point in the remaining three. In reading the treatise one should, above all, keep in view the fact that, though it is polemic against a particular theory, it was written in the interest of a positive theological doctrine. I think we shall do justice to this doctrine if we state it in terms like the following: “Man’s permanent inclination is sinful; and his sinful inclination will certainly qualify his moral choices.” This Augustinian doctrine Edwards defended by a closely reasoned psychology of the will. Now I am not sure that this great doctrine, which I heartily accept, was at all aided by Edwards when he involved it with and defended it by a particular psychology. And my doubt is deepened by what seems to me his unnecessary employment, in the spiritual sphere, of terms taken from the sphere of nature, like “cause,” “determination” and “necessity.” I can only call your attention to the fact that the defense of the religious doctrine, and not his psychology, was Edwards’ deepest anxiety. And who of us is not prepared to say, that the bad man’s badness is a permanent disposition certain to emerge in his ethical volitions, and that to revolutionize it there is needed the forth-putting of the power of the Holy Ghost?

But it is Edwards’ sermons on *The Punishment of the Wicked* which have awakened the strongest enmity; an enmity expressed often in the most violent terms. The rational and Scriptural basis of the doctrine and the objections to it need not be set forth here. Edwards accepted, defended and proclaimed it, substantially in the form in which it has been taught in the Greek, the Latin and the Protestant Churches. It is the doctrine of the Fathers, the mediæval Schoolmen and the Protestant theologians. Edwards’ doctrine of Hell is exactly one with the doctrine of Dante.

Now it is of interest to note that there is a widespread revulsion from Edwards, considered as the author of these Sermons, which does not and so far as I am aware never did appear in the case of Dante, considered as the author of the *Inferno*. What is the explanation of the difference? Dante is praised and glorified by not a few of those to whom the name of Edwards is for the same reason a name of "execration and horror." Indeed, Dante has been defended by a great American man of letters for rejoicing in the pain of the damned; while no one of Edwards' sermons, unless it is *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, has been more severely criticised as inhuman than the discourse entitled, *The Torments of the Wicked in Hell no occasion of Grief to the Saints in Heaven*. We shall do well, therefore, to note the contrast between Dante's and Edwards' presentation of the same subject.

When Dante was sailing through the Lake of Mud in the Fifth Circle of Hell, there appeared before him suddenly Philipppo Argenti, who in this world was full of arrogance and of disdain of his fellow-men, now clothed only with the lake's muck. Pathetically he answers Dante's inquiry, "Who art thou that art become so foul?" with the words, "Thou seest I am one who weeps." And Dante replies, "With weeping and with wailing, accursed spirit, do thou remain, for I know thee although thou art all filthy." Then Virgil clasps Dante's neck and kisses his face and says, "Blessed is she who bore thee!" And Dante replies, "Master, I should much like to see him ducked in this broth before we depart from the lake." And Virgil promises that he shall be satisfied. "And after this," continues Dante, "I saw such rending of him by the muddy folk that I still praise God therefor and thank Him for it. All cried, 'At Philipppo Argenti!' and the raging Florentine spirit turned upon himself with his teeth. Here we left him; so that I tell no more of him." This is one of the passages in Dante's poem of that Hell over whose entrance he read these words; "Through me is the way into eternal woe; through me is the way among the lost people. Justice moved my high creator; the divine Power, the supreme Wisdom, and the primal Love made me. Before me were no things created unless eternal, and I eternal last. Leave every hope, ye who enter here."

There is nothing in Edwards which, so far as I can judge, equals this in its horrid imagery and suggestion. And yet men enjoy Dante and the *Inferno*. They do not "execrate" him for a "monster," as Dr. Allen says they do Edwards. And in his great essay on Dante, Mr. James Russell Lowell makes this very scene the

text of an eloquent laudation of Dante's moral quality, in which he says of him; "He believed in the righteous use of anger, and that baseness was its legitimate quarry." Why is it that the attitude of the general public, thus represented by Mr. Lowell, toward the Hell of Dante is so different from the attitude of the same public toward the Hell of Edwards? I think we shall find an answer to this question in what I may call Edwards' spiritual realism. Of course Dante is a realist also. How often this quality of his poem has been pointed out to us! But Dante's is the realism of the artist, the poet who appeals to our imagination. Our imagination being gratified, we enjoy the picture and even the sensations of horror which the picture starts. Of all this there is nothing in Edwards. There is no picture at all. There is scarcely a symbol. Here and there there is an illustration. But the illustrations of Edwards are never employed to make his subject vivid to the imagination. They are intended simply to explicate it to the understanding. The free, responsible, guilty and immortal spirit is immediately addressed; and the purely spiritual elements of the Hell of the wicked, separated from all else, are made to appear in their terrible nakedness before the reason and the conscience. The reason and the conscience respond. We are angry because startled out of our security. And we call him cruel, because of the conviction forced on us that we are in the presence of a terrible, even if mysterious, spiritual reality. Edwards always spoke, not to the imagination, but to the responsible spirit. Men realized when he addressed them that because they are sinners their moral constitution judicially inflicts upon their personality remorse; and that remorse is an absolute, immitigable and purely spiritual pain, independent of the conditions of time and space and, therefore, eternal.

The Nineteenth Century, in one of its greatest poets,\* looking out on nature, sees no relief from this eternity of remorse; that is to say, it sees no evidence, in nature's "tooth and claw" that God will ever interfere to end this spiritual pain and punishment. It only "hopes" that, "at last, far off," "Winter will turn to Spring." I shall not attack any man for a hope, maintained against the evidence of remorse within and nature without, that the mystery of pain and moral evil will be thus dissipated in their destruction. It is not my business to denounce a thoughtful and reverent spirit like Tennyson, because of any relief he may individually find, when facing the most terrible revelation of nature and of his moral con-

\* *In Memoriam*, liii-lvi.



stitution, in the "hope" which issues from our sensibility to pain and from the sentiment of mercy which God has implanted in us all. But I do say, that a man's private "hope" should never be elevated to the dignity of a dogma, or be made a norm of teaching, or be proposed as a rule of action. And I do protest that it is the height of literary injustice, while praising Dante, to condemn Edwards the preacher because, in his anxiety to induce men to "press into the kingdom," he preached, not the private hope of Lord Tennyson, but the spiritual verity to which the conscience of the sinner responds. Thus, in his treatment of this darkest of subjects, that spirituality which I have said was his dominant quality is regnant; and here, too, he should be called, "the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit."

With this protest I conclude. Let me say again, that I am deeply grateful to you for the opportunity you have given me to unite with you in this commemoration of the man we so often call our greatest American Divine. He was indeed inexpressibly great in his intellectual endowment, in his theological achievement, in his continuing influence. He was greatest in his attribute of regnant, permeating, irradiating spirituality. It is at once a present beatitude and an omen of future good that, in these days of pride in wealth and all that wealth means, of pride in the fashion of this world which passeth away, we still in our heart of hearts reserve the highest honor for the great American who lived and moved and had his being in the Universe which is unseen and eternal.

*Princeton.*

JOHN DEWITT.

## V.

### THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.\*

THE Presbyterian Church has no greater place to offer any man than that which I am called to occupy. I am grateful to the Directors, Trustees and Faculty of this Seminary for the cordial welcome which they have given me; and I promise them that, as I may be enabled to do so, I will be faithful to the high trust which they have reposed in me. I confess that I feel a deep sense of my inadequacy to the task which I have undertaken when I think of the men who in former times gave to this school of sacred learning its great renown: of the Alexanders—father and sons; of the Hodges—father and sons; of Dr. Green and other noble men who lived and died in the service of this Seminary, and by their published writings have given it a name for theological learning throughout the world.

I am speaking not for myself alone, but for my colleagues in the Faculty as well, when I say that it is in reverent regard for the work which the fathers have done, in loyal devotion to the truth they served, and at the same time with vigilant outlook on the changing conditions of thought, that we desire to carry on the work which is here given us to do.

This Seminary is, first of all, a school for the training of men to preach the Gospel. The claims of theological learning should never supersede or relegate to a subordinate position the practical aims which were contemplated by those who founded this Seminary; and if we magnify these claims, it is only because we believe that the minister who would most effectively discharge the duties of his high calling is he who, other things being equal, is best equipped in his knowledge of the Disciplines that enter into the theological curriculum. It is not necessary now to call attention to those elementary studies which underlie a minister's theological education. For we have made a complete separation between the disciplinary studies which enter into what is called a liberal

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education, and the more distinctively technical and specialized studies which constitute the *curriculum* of the professional school. Every student of the theological seminary is supposed to have graduated in Arts, or to have had an education equivalent to that required for the Bachelor of Arts degree. With that maturity of mind which such an education betokens, and with that seriousness of purpose which may be fairly presupposed on the part of men who have all attained their majority, and who besides are looking forward to a professional career in the sacred calling of the ministry, as conditions precedent of the successful prosecution of theological study, it should not be difficult for us to secure from those who enter this Seminary an intelligent interest in the problem of the theological *curriculum*, and a hearty coöperation with us in carrying it out in the details of class-room instruction. I venture to hope, therefore, that however dry and uninteresting much that I have to say this morning may be to many, if not most of this audience, I may have the interested attention of my brethren in the ministry and of the theological students. The practical value of much that is taught in a theological seminary is sometimes challenged, I doubt not, even by very good students; and their skepticism on this head arises generally out of the fact, so I at least believe, that they do not see the relations which the several parts of theological instruction sustain to each other. Have these various additions to the *curriculum* been accidental accretions, or do they maintain an organic relation to each other? Are chairs of theology to be multiplied indefinitely in obedience to the varying demands of the times, or as increased endowments make it possible for us to increase the professorial staff, or is there a logical limit to this sort of expansion, which can be indicated and rationally defended? It may seem to some that what I say this morning may serve, in a measure at least, as an answer to these questions. My theme to-day embraces the entire circle of theological learning. But I have not set myself so ambitious a task as these words may lead you to suppose; for I desire only to ask your attention to some thoughts of mine on what is technically known as Theological Encyclopædia.

This word "encyclopædia" was probably first used by Galen. As denoting the circle of the sciences it was used by Martinus, 1606. In the popular sense familiar to us all it was used by Alsted, 1620, and as indicating the totality of materials germane to a special science it was used in the eighteenth century by several writers, and applied to Jurisprudence by Pütter, to Medicine by Boerhaave, and to Theology by Mursinna.

Theological Encyclopædia undertakes to classify and reduce to system the different Disciplines or departments of theological science. It seeks to show the organic relations between those Disciplines, and it may even go so far as to lay down the methods that should be followed, and to state and compare the methods that have been followed in the different Disciplines.

It would be interesting to trace the history of Theological Encyclopædia from its crude beginnings in Chrysostom's six books "*De Sacerdotio*" in the fourth century, in the advice of Cassiodorus to the monks of Vivariensis in the sixth century, and later in the *Institutio clericorum* of Rabarus Maurus and the *Didascalía* of Hugo of St. Victor, down to the days of Scholasticism when, by the union of theology and philosophy, as Rábiger says, theology became a learned Discipline with the primacy, we may add, vested in philosophy. Such a history would tell the story of the subsequent protest against over-intellectualism in theology made by Roger Bacon and then by Erasmus, the modifying influence of Pietism after the Reformation as represented in such a work as the *Isagoge* of Buddaeus, and then the waning interest in theological study which led men like Bertholdt, Planck, Thym and Tittman (1796, 1798, 1813) to write their Theological Encyclopædias as manuals for those entering upon the study of theology and for the purpose of awakening a new interest in it. There is nothing in these systems of encyclopædia that need claim our attention, and I venture to say that none of us would think of adopting the divisions of theological science set forth in these manuals. The next writer worthy of notice is the Reformed theologian of Holland, Clarisse, who divides theology according to the familiar and simple plan into four parts—*exegetica, historica, systematica* and *pastoralis*. This also is the division adopted by Hagenbach, one of the later encyclopædists, and is the one most generally accepted among theologians to-day.

But in Schleiermacher we have an illustration of the way in which one's fundamental conception of theology will inevitably determine his distribution of theological material. All theology was divided, according to him, into three parts—Philosophical, Historical and Practical. Under the head of Historical Theology he includes Dogmatics and Exegetics. From the point of view which makes the Bible the rule of faith it is, of course, an error to put Dogmatic Theology under the historical rubric. But from Schleiermacher's point of view it was most natural to do it. For we have only to conceive of the Church as an organism possessed of a corporate life and an undivided corporate consciousness, and it will be



once appear that in the Bible you have the record of the religious consciousness of the Church for a certain period, and that in Church History you have the record of the Christian society through the subsequent centuries. Now part of that religious life or thought takes the form of dogma. Dogmatic Theology, therefore, is not the systematic exhibition of the truths of Scripture, but is rather a crystallization of the religious consciousness in the form of religious belief, and may vary in different periods. Dogmatic Theology is thus a part of history. The affinity of this view promulgated by Schleiermacher with that of the later Roman Catholic doctrine of development, and also the more recent Protestant doctrine of the Christian consciousness, is apparent. It is not difficult to see, moreover, how Schleiermacher has furnished the philosophy which enables Roman Catholic theologians to give a systematic and philosophic explication of their dogmatic system; and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that in the hands of Dobmeyer and Staudenmaier Schleiermacher's principle becomes the basis of a Roman Catholic encyclopædia.

The serious objection to Schleiermacher's encyclopædia is that it proceeds upon a principle that antagonizes the Protestant principle that the Bible is the rule of faith and practice. Other objections may be urged against the mode of distributing the theological Disciplines in the encyclopædias of Dantz, Pelt, Lange, Tholuck, Hagenbach and Kuyper.

Take Hagenbach's, for example: The four parts of theology, according to him, are Historical, Exegetical, Systematic and Practical. But what is Historical Theology? And if the development of doctrine in the post-Biblical period is put down under Historical Theology, why is the development of doctrine within the Biblical period cut off from the domain of Historical Theology and erected into a separate department called Exegetical Theology?

And why is Practical Theology not logically apart of Christian Ethics, except that the practical duties enjoined in it pertain not so much to the private Christian as to the Church in its organic life, or to the individual in his official relations to the Church? These are only illustrations of the difficulties we meet in attempting a logical distribution of the Theological Disciplines. Apologetics again—to take another illustration—is a subject that the encyclopædists have difficulty with: some treating it as belonging to the Prolegomena of Theology, and others as part of Systematic Theology.

But it is much easier to see defects than to remedy them, and it

is quite likely that the scheme which I propose will reveal weaknesses to the eyes of others which I do not see.

In organizing the Theological Disciplines I proceed upon this postulate: that man knows God through his reason, that God has superadded to the light of nature the Revelation of Himself in the Bible, and that this enlarged and corrected knowledge is embodied in the Church.

The materials for all our theological knowledge are to be found, therefore, in these three sources: the Reason, the Bible, the Church. We shall accordingly have Rational Theology, Scriptural Theology and Ecclesiastical Theology. Assuming now that our point of view is that of the Reformed Theology, it is obvious that the body of belief involved in these Disciplines just mentioned stands antithetically related to opposing views, and that it will be necessary to carry on a systematic defense of that theology, first, against those who assail our Reformed position from within the Church, and, secondly, against those who assail Christianity from without. Accordingly we shall have Polemic Theology and Apologetic Theology.

And yet again the need will be felt of gathering into one compact system the results of all these Disciplines in a body of divinity which will represent the sum total of theological inquiry. This will be Systematic Theology. I do not claim any minute acquaintance with the Hegelian philosophy, and I do not profess any great regard for it; but it is evident that in the scheme which I propose the dominant words are those which have such large place in Hegelian Literature—Thesis, Antithesis and Synthesis.

## I.

### THESIS.

Man derives some knowledge of God through his reason. This I know is disputed, and the Ritschlians are particularly fond of disparaging Natural Theology. But apart from the question of the possibility of a Natural Theology, the fact remains that the religious phenomena of the world call for consideration. We cannot very well avoid, therefore, giving a place in our Theological Encyclopædia to Rational or Philosophical Theology.

1. *Rational Theology.*—Under this head I should include the Science of Religion and the Philosophy of Religion.

It is a matter of very considerable importance to study the various religions of the world and to systematize the knowledge thus obtained in regard to the beliefs men have actually entertained

regarding God. I hardly think it necessary to go, as Ebrard does, into the history of religions simply for the little apologetic material to be derived from it, and I would not make comparative religion therefore a branch of Apologetics. We shall learn many things from the Science of Religion:—we shall learn the solidarity of religious life throughout the world, and that will quicken our sympathies with others of our kind; we shall be made cognizant of the common elements held in solution by all religions, and shall know the deep foundation already laid on which the superstructure of the Gospel can be built; we shall see the insufficiency of heathen religions, and in the contrast between them and Christianity find an argument for the exclusive character of Christianity; and we shall be able to account for the analogies between Christianity and other religions without resorting to the hypothesis that our religion has been a wholesale plagiarism from the start. Still our object should be to find out what men have actually believed regarding God as the result of the light of nature. Our inquiries under this broad statement of aim may be made as detailed and simple as we choose, and should not be conditioned by the practical use in Missions or Apologetics which we may wish to make of our results.

Then, again, we have the old subject of Natural Theology, and more particularly of Theism, which, of course, belongs to the department of Philosophical Theology. With those who in our day would make our theology more distinctively Christian by making it appear that our only knowledge of God comes to us through Christ, I have no sympathy. For it seems to me that Christ can teach Theism to an Atheist to-day only by an inferential passage from the phenomena of his earthly life to belief in the Divine existence. But if the phenomena of the universe are powerless to produce this result, it is vain, so at least it seems to me, to suppose that the phenomena of a single human life can produce it. It is a disservice to revealed religion to disparage Natural Theology in the hope of thereby exalting Christ. Natural Theology is the basis of Revealed Theology, and the true order of thought is found in the Saviour's words: "Ye believe in God: believe also in me." But be the didactic scope of Natural Theology more or less, it is a fact that the phenomena of religious experience are receiving a great deal of attention at the hands of philosophers, and Christian theologians cannot afford to ignore the work of the psychologists and metaphysicians in this field. We are having our religious life interpreted for us in the terms of empirical psychology. We are having our Christian doctrines explained according to the Hegelian meta-

physics. Religion is being looked upon as a pathological condition, or as being a mystical emotionalism that needs nothing for its content beyond a spirit of submission to the inevitable.

How the profound problems of metaphysics bear upon the philosophy of religion we can see in the Gifford lectures of Ward and Royce. How the distinctive features of Christianity disappear under the touch of the Hegelian dialectic we can see in the writings of the Cairds. We may be thankful, perhaps, that something of supernaturalism is saved from the wreck when we read the brilliant pages of James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*; but then how little it is! And when in despair of a rational basis for religious belief we are left by Höffding and Mallock to console ourselves with value-judgments, we are tempted to ask: Has it come to this? And does our philosophy of religion say for its last word that we keep our religious beliefs simply because we cannot and will not give them up? The Christian theologian must come into this field as a defender of the faith. He must strengthen the outposts if he would save the citadel.

But I go farther than this. I believe that there is need just now of a philosophy of the Christian religion which will work on the basis of contemporary philosophy and the apologetic *minimum*, and shall give us such a synthesis of natural and revealed religion as shall satisfy the intellectual needs of those who turn away from the pages of Starbuck and Caird, on the one hand, and who are not ready to accept a complete Systematic Theology, on the other, but are nevertheless craving for a *rationale* of Christianity. Flint and Fairbairn are the two men in the English-speaking world most competent to do this work. But Flint has not tried to do it, and I do not think that Fairbairn has altogether succeeded.

2. *Scriptural Theology*.—This department, commonly called Exegetical Theology, includes all those studies which terminate directly upon the Bible. Among these we have the studies ancillary to the study of the Scriptures, such as Archæology, Biblical Geography and, of course, the original languages of the Scripture. The encyclopædists have a disheartening way of writing on this subject, for they not only tell us to read Greek and Hebrew, but they would say that in order to know Hebrew one must know the cognate languages, and we begin to think of the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic and Assyrian. Hagenbach's Encyclopædia is pretty dry reading, but our heart warms toward it when, after reading weary pages of what he calls Exegetische Hülfswissenschaften, he condescendingly tells us that a comprehensive knowledge of all the Semitic languages



cannot be demanded of every Christian theologian. And it was very kind in him to put in a footnote the following from Luther, which we lay aside for our comfort along with other choice bits of cheap erudition: "One is not a truly wise Christian *quia Græcus sit et Hebræus*,"—because he is a Greek or Hebrew scholar—"quando beatus Hieronymus, quinque linguis monoglosson Augustinum non adæquavit," since Jerome of blessed memory, with all his learning, could not come within gunshot of the monoglot Augustine. It is wonderful indeed what an amount of good thinking one may do in one language!

But beside these ancillary studies there is the vexed question of the Canon, which may be regarded perhaps as belonging to the Prolegomena of Scriptural Study. Coming, then, more closely to the study of the Bible we have—

(1) The Higher Criticism. Were there no questions regarding the date and authorship of the books of the Bible which affect historical results, most of the material of this department might be handed over to the department of history; or if results were considered without placing the emphasis upon the critical investigations which precede them, the subject might still be considered as historical. But it is usual to rubricise this department under the head of criticism; and however rubricised there is no escape from the necessity of entering upon the work of The Higher Criticism. A Church may say that for a minister to reach certain conclusions in his critical exegesis is to put in jeopardy his ministerial standing; but a Church which should forbid inquiry would stultify herself. This business of The Higher Criticism on its ecclesiastical side does not seem to be so difficult after all. We do not believe in an infallible Church; and we cannot very well assume the infallibility of the Bible in order to prove its infallibility. We are therefore, in a sense, in the hands of the specialists. I do not see how it can be helped. If our attorney is not managing our case right, my advice is to dismiss him and get another. But the advice of many seems to be, let the case go by default: the attorneys are a bad lot.

Then we have (2) The Lower Criticism, or that which is concerned with the task of securing a correct text. The theological student needs no explanation of the meaning of this Discipline, but if the intelligent layman wishes to know what is involved in inquiries under this head, let him read the admirable treatise on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament by my friend and colleague, Dr. Warfield. Suffice it to say that this is the sphere of the labors of such men as Tregelles and Tischendorf and Drs. Westcott and Hort.

Then we have (3) Exegesis: Interpretation. And it is here that Calvin and Hodge and Addison Alexander and Eadie and Alford and Ellicott and Lightfoot and Meyer have made the world of Christian students their debtors. It is to be regretted that this department of theology is receiving less attention than it once did, for it is the minister who feeds his mind and heart by close contact with the mind of God as revealed in the very words of Scripture whose ministry will be rich in spiritual power. Time was when the intellectual life of scholarly ministers centred in exegetical studies. Time was when every religious controversy was fought out on exegetical grounds. But ministers have shared in the intellectual unrest of the day. Doubt in regard to the inspiration of the Scriptures and the convergence of literary criticism and the evolutionary philosophy upon the sacred books has tended to paralyze all theological effort or has transferred it to another *locus*.

And finally we have (4) Biblical Theology. I sympathize with Rübiger in the regret that this designation has been given to this department. It would have been better if this term could have been kept to indicate (and Pelt so uses it in his *Encyclopædia*) all the studies that terminate on the Bible. My friend and colleague, Dr. Vos, following Nösgen, makes the happy suggestion that this department be called The History of Revelation. But the term has a pretty fixed meaning and is generally well understood, though now and then we find a man who still gives vent to his dislike of Dogmatic Theology by professing great devotion to Biblical Theology, as though the latter were a protest against the former, and were a little more loyal to the authority of the Bible. It is true that Biblical Theology takes little or no account of ecclesiastical controversies and is silent about the decisions of Councils. Still it must be remembered that Biblical Theology does not consist in grouping the teaching of the Scriptures under certain *loci communes*, such as sin and redemption. That would be a Biblical Dogmatic. The Biblical theologian seeks to trace the development of doctrine as revealed truth. His subject is the crowning Discipline of Exegesis, but it is an historical Discipline too. It is the task of the Dogmatic theologian to exhibit the logical unfolding of the Covenant of Grace, but it is the task of the Biblical theologian to exhibit its chronological unfolding. In that fine fragment on the History of Redemption, by the great theologian whose bicentenary we are soon to celebrate in this Seminary, we have the true conception of this department; and I think I do not err in saying that, at least so far as we in America are concerned, Jonathan Edwards is the father

of Biblical Theology. I do not think that Biblical Theology can ever supersede Systematic Theology, but it is a most important part of theological learning; and besides serving to systematize our exegetical studies, it will render great service to us in the construction of Systematic Theology. We shall gain an insight into the genetic relations of the great concepts of Redemption as we watch their gradual unfolding. We shall acquire an historical habit in the study of texts. Texts whose doctrinal significance we have overlooked will be seen in a new light; and proof-texts that have been quoted by generations of dogmaticians in support of doctrines which they do not prove will, so far as the purposes of Dogmatic Theology are concerned, be sent into honorable retirement.

3. *Ecclesiastical Theology*.—Under this head we are to group all those studies that are involved in our conception of the Church. And of course there is—

(1) The History of the Church, which may be considered as general and special. Now the historian's method will be determined largely by his conception of the Church. If organization is of the essence of the Church, the liberal-minded historian will be embarrassed by the varieties of ecclesiastical organization. If, on the other hand, organization is not of the essence of the Church (which is, I think, the better view), he is relieved at once of a very serious difficulty. The Roman Catholic historian has his own way of disposing of Presbyterians, and the Presbyterian historian has his way (I think a better way) of disposing of the Roman Catholics. He treats them as constituent members of that great body of men throughout the world called the Church who profess the true religion. With the problem of coexistence in space satisfactorily disposed of, the historian has on his hands the less important, but still important problem of succession in time. We have been told so much of late that history is not a matter of dates that I am afraid that some people are losing all sense of historical perspective. I should think a good deal, it seems to me, if I were writing Church history, on how I should periodize. Ideally speaking, one would think that the divisions of history should be those of time; that epochs should be indicated by events marking the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem*; and that all minor divisions should be absorbed in the even and uninterrupted flow of narrative. This is Gibbon's plan, and Milman's. But it would not have suited a work like Neander's. The detailed treatment he was to give his subject under each category required him to make his categories clear, distinct and com-



prehensive. And so under each of his periods he deals with the Church in the history of her spread abroad, of her life and discipline, and of her doctrine. If, as we cannot very well avoid, we keep the familiar rubric of ancient, mediæval and modern history, we should naturally expect that temporal divisions after that would be subdivisions of these three, and should feel it would not be exactly logical to absorb them in another scheme which gives nine periods of history coördinate with one another. Yet this is what Dr. Schaaf does in his most learned history of the Church. It would be impossible to deal with or even to mention here all the subjects of special Church history that may properly fall under the *curriculum* of theological study; but I must mention two, Symbolics and the History of Doctrine.

It may strike some as an anachronism for me to attach any importance to the study of Creeds and Confessions, and yet I think that they ought to be considered as to their origin, the men who made them, the circumstances which gave rise to them, and the controversies that called for their preparation. We should know our own Confession of Faith in its relation to the great family of Reformed Confessions, of which it is the last and the best: we should see how the Reformed Confessions differ from the Lutheran—the Augsburg and the Formula of Concord; we should know the beginnings of Arminianism, and be ready to say whether we divide the Protestant world into three great families, Lutheran, Arminian and Reformed, or whether we make Arminians and Calvinists two species under the genus Reformed. We should have clearly in our minds the points that separate all Protestant confessions from the Greek and Roman Churches: and we should know—by no means an unimportant thing to know—how much our Protestantism holds in common with the Greek Catholic and the Roman Catholic communions. Turning now to the history of doctrine, two methods are open to us. We may divide the history into short periods, and treat all the doctrines under every period: or we may divide by making doctrine the basis and tracing each doctrine through the centuries. Think now of Baur's great work on the history of the doctrine of the Trinity, Müller on Sin, Dorner on the Person of Christ, Ritschl on Justification—marvels of learning, every one: then look through the histories of Doctrine, such as Shedd's and Hagenbach's and Harnack's, and imagine the literature that is to be studied before one is master of this field. Consider what it means to study the history of doctrine. It means not only that we watch the changes from the indefinite to the definite that a doctrine



has undergone—not only that we know what the great Doctors and Fathers have said regarding it—but that we understand, too, the influences that led to these opinions, the coloring of current philosophy, whether it be Platonic or Aristotelian; whether it be Manichean or Scholastic; whether it be Kantian or Hegelian. And think of the work that this involves! If I were having an historian of dogma made to order I would require him to have great acquisitive powers, and I would have him at home in the languages of the Bible. I would have him secure a mastery of Church History in general. I would make him as thorough in his mastery of the history of Philosophy. I would have him become a systematic dogmatician of the highest logical powers; and when I had done all, I would put him early at the task of studying the history of doctrine. Then we might get what at present we do not have—a satisfactory treatment of the subject.

The second topic under the head of Ecclesiastical Theology is (2) The Organization of the Church. There are wide differences of opinion in regard to the way in which the Church should be organized, officered and governed. The theologian who wishes to discuss the question of the primitive *ecclesia* without being dependent upon second-hand sources must be able to handle patristic literature for himself, as Hatch and Lightfoot do. He should be familiar with the great systems of Church and State relationships—the Byzantine, the Roman, the Erastian—as well as that which proceeds upon the theory of the entire separation of the one from the other. Because a man is a Presbyterian minister he is not cut off from interest in other communions, and if his specialty is Church government he ought to know and be familiar with the great administrative problems in other communions. The decisions of the Court of Arches and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in regard to points of doctrine and ritual in the Church of England ought to interest him. The great struggle for spiritual independence which culminated in the Scottish disruption of 1843 should be known by him as he knows the history of his own Church; and the law of his Church, as laid down in the Book of Discipline, and the judicial decisions of the General Assembly should be read in the light of Pardovan's Collections and, for that matter, in the light of the Canon law. What would be said if I should recommend theological students to take a course in Roman Law? And yet I am sure that such a course would be useful to them. And then there is the whole question of the Church in relation to the law of the land—the law of the land regarding Church property,

regarding the conclusive character of ecclesiastical sentences, as laid down in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Walnut Street Church case, and the laws of the several States regarding marriage and divorce. These are all matters which are within the legitimate province of the minister.

The last subject which claims consideration under the head of Ecclesiastical Theology is (3) The Work and Worship of the Church. Two questions present themselves in this connection: the question of extending the Church's influence and that of promoting the spiritual well-being of her members. Missions, Pastoral Theology, Liturgics, Homiletics—these and topics like these should be dealt with under this department. A course of lectures on Missions, such as those delivered here by Dr. Dennis and others, is a great addition to the Seminary's *curriculum*. Lectures on the history of missions, the missionary problems, the bearing of missions on the statesmanship of the world, and the bearing of diplomacy on the future of Christianity—these are great subjects and fitted to awaken the highest enthusiasm of any man who will approach them with interest and sufficient breadth of vision.

I do not dwell on the subject of Pastoral Theology, but I will take the liberty to say to my younger brethren that we ministers need all the good advice we can get respecting the exercise of tact and good sense, respecting the care of our life and the avoidance of those things that mar our influence. A Professor in this Seminary once thought it not beneath his dignity to write a book on Clerical Manners, and I have sometimes thought that a new edition of that book, brought down to date, with some additional suggestions as to the amenities of social life, is greatly needed.

I have very little to say regarding Homiletics, though if, as with most of us it is the case, our productive activity is to spend itself in making sermons, I do not see how we can fail to attach great importance to the subject. The minister who does not know what Shedd and Phelps have said on sermonizing shows great indifference, it seems to me, to the attainment of excellence in his profession. A man who makes a serious study of this subject and brings to it a well-furnished mind, will need none of the popular homiletical helps and can afford to throw his Dictionary of Illustrations out of the window. I do not feel the difficulty which some experience in settling the boundary lines of plagiarism. A full man, with a fresh mind, after sufficient brooding on his text, will get down to the roots of the text, will see what nobody else will see in the same light; for the thing seen, to use a Kantianism, is

not the text-in-itself, but the text-in-itself in relation to the man-in-himself; and this being the case, if the man-in-himself be a man—that is, if he has grown out of his babyhood and rounded into a separate mind—the possibilities are infinite respecting the sermons that may be preached from any text. And so I say to my younger brethren in the ministry, and especially to you young men who have not yet entered it: get powers of expression, get knowledge, get thought-power, get rich Christian experience, get a knowledge of homiletical *technique*, and then let the sermon be yours—nay, rather, let it be you. Let it be an arrow shot from the tense bow-string of conviction and it will hit the mark every time.

But the sermon is not the only thing in the worship of the Church, and in some Churches it is not the most important thing. We belong to the non-liturgical family of Churches, and music does not hold the place in our Church that it occupies in some other branches of Christendom. But that is no reason why we should fail to provide proper instruction in our Seminaries in Church music of the better sort or ignore the great devotional formulas which have fed the spiritual life of generations of Christians. I should say that it is the minister of the non-liturgical Church, who is expected to be ready at a moment's notice to express himself in apt, elevated, rhythmical, devotional language, who is likely to be most profited by familiar acquaintance with the liturgical formulas of the Christian Church. For the nurture of his own spiritual life, and for his greater efficiency as a minister of the Word, I commend to every theological student the duty of having an intimate acquaintance with the Word of God in the English tongue; but I would also commend to him the duty of familiarizing himself with the Church's best literature of devotion, and whether it be the *Imitation of Christ*, or *The Christian Year*, or *The Book of Common Prayer* that claims his attention; whether it be the hymns of Watts or Doddridge or Wesley, or Faber or Newman, or Bonar or Heber in which his religious feelings find expression, let him remember that the meditations, the prayers, the hymns of Christian men of all ages are the common heritage of the Christian World.

## II.

### ANTITHESIS.

We are now to deal with that part of Theology which regards the Christian system as antithetically related to opposing forms of thought. In the early days of the Reformed Theology all defenses of revealed truths were included under the name Polemic Theology.

Thus Stapfer, in the second and third volumes of his *Polemic Theology*, deals in succession with Atheism, Deism, Epicureanism, Ethnicism, Naturalism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Socinianism, Romanism, Fanaticism, Pelagianism, and reaches his climax in his chapter against the Remonstrants and the Anabaptists. The classification exhibits all the faults that are conceivable in a discussion of this kind. I shall not call attention to them further than to say that there is a great difference between those controversies whose area is within the Christian communions and those which are carried on against men who deny the supernaturalism of Christianity. *Polemic Theology* pertains to the first, *Apologetic Theology* to the second.

1. *Polemic Theology*.—The phrase does not have a very amiable sound, and on that account some would like to have it superseded by a less warlike form of expression. But I do not know that we should quarrel with the adjective, if that for which it stands is an accepted fact. If the rupture with Rome was justifiable a Protestant polemic becomes a necessity—that is to say, we must defend our position. It is a pity that Protestantism has undergone the process of division into sects, but it is the inevitable logic of its postulates. When the doctrine of the one visible corporate Church is parted with, as Protestantism necessarily parts with it, there is no logical stopping-place, and we may multiply sects indefinitely. For when the basis of the organization is not the Creed which shall include the largest number of Christians, but that which shall embrace the largest number of doctrines, and which shall express them in the best and most Scriptural manner, you of course see what will be the result. Creeds will multiply, and sects will multiply. The greater the extension the less the intension; the greater the intension the less the extension.

Suppose, now, that you belong to one of these Churches and accept its creed-statements. Suppose that men outside of your communion revile your doctrines, ridicule your faith and misrepresent your most cherished convictions. Are you not to be allowed to defend yourself? Suppose that when there is peace within your walls and prosperity within your palaces, there arise those within your communion who flaunt their ridicule of the creed to which they have subscribed in the faces of the congregations which they serve. Are you to do nothing? Have you no right to stand up in defense of what you believe to be precious truth? Now these are precisely the occasions that develop the controversial element in the Church's life. I do not see, therefore, how we can help



having a place for Polemic Theology in the Theological Encyclopædia. I do not understand Polemic Theology to mean a bitter spirit. It is simply the intellectual outcome of a condition of things in which a witness-bearing Church, prompted by zeal for the truth and a holy instinct of self-preservation, girds itself to do battle against what it believes to be error.

2. *Apologetic Theology*.—Polemic Theology, as I have said, at one time included all that we now designate as Apologetics; and Apologetics is in the nature of the case polemic, only its warfare is carried on between those who believe and those who deny a Supernatural Revelation. And yet the irenic character of Apologetics is very decided also. It must needs soften the tone of controversy for us to remember that, differ as we may, in some points, from our brethren in other communions, we stand shoulder to shoulder with them in defense of more important truth. Says Delitzsch in his *Apologetik*: "When we are carried along by Tertullian's Apologetics and wonder at his depth and wealth of thought, we thank God that the Church has had a man who with such power was able to wield the sword of the Spirit, and we forget his Montanism. And when we read the learned and elegant book *de veritate religionis Christianæ* which Grotius wrote as a pastime during a sea voyage for those who traveled in heathen lands, we take our Christian brother by the hand without feeling sore at his Arminianism. So, too, we recognize Paley, the author of the *Evidences of Christianity*, and Butler, the author of the *Analogy*, and all the great English and American defenders of Christian truth, without asking questions respecting their ecclesiastical connections. And when among the later apologetes we recognize in Drey, Dreisinger, Staudenmeier, and lastly Hettinger four distinguished Catholic investigators, without, in so doing, making any treaty with the Roman Catholic Church, we greet them with a hearty *pax vobiscum*."

The encyclopædists are fond of distinguishing between Apology and Apologetics—and the distinction is a sound one. Apologies are as old as Christianity; systems of Apologetics do not go back of the nineteenth century. Tertullian wrote an Apology, and when the early Christian Fathers defended themselves and their religion against the particular allegations made against them they wrote Apologies; so when the eighteenth century deists called out the great apologetic literature of that period, the greatest in the annals of the Church of any period, they wrote Apologies. That is to say, they wrote special defenses of Christianity from particular points of view and covering the particular questions then in issue. But

when, instead of dealing with a particular controversy, we consider how the Christian religion shall justify its claims to be a supernaturally revealed religion, we are dealing with a much broader and more abstract question. When Lightfoot defends the historical trustworthiness of the books of the New Testament against the author of *Supernatural Religion*, he is writing an Apology. But when Ebrard or Sack or Baumstark writes a systematic defense of Christianity as a supernatural religion, he writes an Apologetic. It is because Apologetic has this character of systematic or organic completeness. I suppose, that some encyclopædists regard it as a branch of Systematic Theology. But there is a great difference. I think, between our conception of Apologetic and that of Systematic Theology. The motive in Systematic Theology is didactic; that in Apologetic Theology is polemic. Let it be understood, then, that Apologetics is a systematic exhibition of the defenses of Christianity. The apologete is not seeking to defend Calvinism or Arminianism or Lutheranism or Romanism as such. He is seeking to defend that core of truth which these systems hold in common. We are in a different attitude altogether when we speak as dogmaticians and when we speak as apologetes. As dogmaticians we ask: What do we know concerning God? It is the truth and the whole truth we are in quest of. It will be the *maximum quid* of belief, therefore, that will be our object. But as apologetes we ask: How can the truth which differentiates Christianity from all other religions, and which the various sects of Christians hold in common, be defended? It is the *minimum quid* which we are seeking. What is that truth which, if a man believe, he shall be saved? What is the truth which represents the essence of Christianity—understanding by essence, to use Spinoza's words, "that without which the thing, and which itself without the thing, can neither be nor be conceived"? On the one hand the man who reduces Christianity to morality, who gives up miracles and makes no numerical distinction between God and the finite spirits whom He has created, minimizes too much. Therefore, when men like Matthew Arnold play the part of apologetes and wish to be regarded as defenders of the faith, we reject their kind offers at once—*non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis*. And yet is it not just as true that there are good Christian men whose views on the Trinity, the Person of Christ, the Atonement, the nature of Sin, the question of Retribution, and the doctrine of Inspiration are erroneous?

Clearly, therefore, when we undertake the work of Apologetics we must take as our starting-point what we regard as essential

Christianity. Where shall we find it? Is it not here—to wit, “that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing unto men their trespasses”?

### III.

#### SYNTHESIS.

The cathedral is the synthesis of all the forms of art. Its beauty and the impressiveness of its services are largely in the fact that it is the blending of architecture, sculpture, painting and music. What the cathedral is to the arts, Systematic Theology is to the several Disciplines that enter into theological study. The Systematic theologian is an architect. Less accomplished, perhaps, than others in the knowledge of any one specialty, he must be more accomplished than any in the knowledge of all specialties. His specialty is the knowledge of the results in all specialties. Like the professed Biblical theologian he gets his doctrines out of the Bible, but his work does not stop with exegesis. He sees the doctrines not only as separately deducible from Scripture, but as progressively unfolded in Scripture. He sees them as the subjects of varying fortunes in the course of history, as defended here and antagonized there. He sees them as the subjects of controversy and as the constituent elements in ecclesiastical symbols. He knows, moreover, that while some truths regarding God are taught in the Bible and nowhere else, other truths may be seen in the light of nature. But these truths of natural religion stand polemically related to those forms of philosophic thought which deny them. And the truths of Revealed Religion have felt the warping, blighting, compromising influence of a false philosophy. The systematic theologian in the very act of being a systematic theologian must be an apologetic theologian, must be a polemic theologian, must be a student of philosophy, must be a biblical theologian, must be familiar with ecclesiastical history, must know the ins and outs of ecclesiastical life. All this goes to justify me in saying that Systematic Theology is not a department that is coördinate with Exegetical Theology, with Historical Theology, with Practical Theology. Rather is it the synthesis of all these Disciplines which we have been considering. This, at least, is the place that I feel bound to give it in the outline of Theological Encyclopædia which I am presenting to you this morning.

## SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

The grandeur of Systematic Theology thus conceived will hardly be denied. The legitimacy of the systematic theologian's undertaking cannot be called in question. Even when men have given form to systems foreign to our mode of thought and far away from what we believe to be true, it is impossible not to admire and to wonder at the vast constructive power their systems manifest. The first question is, of course, whether or no God has spoken. For if He has spoken, it is certain that He has not said one thing or two. He has said a great many things. And these parts of the Divine message sustain relations to one another. What are these relations? It is said that God has not given us a Systematic Theology in the Bible. Neither has He given us a ready-made Astronomy nor a ready-made Biology. Linnæus had to work for his classification. God has not planted nature like a park with studied reference to orders, genera and species. It is said that logic is a snare, and I have heard ministers in the pulpit grow eloquent over the ensnaring power of logic when it was quite evident that, however much other people were suffering by it, they were entirely safe themselves. I am not ready to say *credo quia impossibile*, or *credo quia absurdum est*. I do not think we can save our faith by discarding our intellects. The world will not long continue to value a religion which it believes to be irrational, no matter who it is that commends it to our consideration. And whether it be Tertullian or Ritschl, or Hermann or Coleridge, or Isaac Taylor or Balfour, or Kidd or Mallock, or the modern high-potency dilutionists of the Ritschlian School, who in this country are giving us an ethico-sentimental naturalism as the new Gospel for the twentieth century, I make bold to tell them all alike that Christianity will be denied a hearing in the court of feeling once she has been non-suited at the bar of reason.

The theme of Systematic Theology is the sum of our knowledge regarding God. This includes, of course, human conduct; and it is quite possible to include both faith and practice under one set of categories. Thus Turretine discusses morality under the Law; so does Dr. Charles Hodge. But it is not common to do this. In the Roman Catholic Church the distinction is clearly marked between Dogmatic and Moral Theology—the latter being largely occupied with the solution of difficult questions of casuistry. And in the Protestant Churches the distinction between dogmatics and ethics has been recognized since the seventeenth century. It was first made for the Reformed Church by Danaeus, and for the Lutheran Church by Calixtus.



1. *Christian Ethics*.—Now a theologian, of course, can limit himself to the discussion of those practical questions of conduct which represent the difference between rational ethics and revealed ethics. He may say that his field of conduct is conditioned by Christianity. But, perplexing as some of the questions will be that fall within this area, I am inclined to think that he cannot limit himself to this area. He will feel, I am confident, that the entire territory of morals is his. Fundamental questions regarding Moral Obligation, the Good and the Right, will confront him and he will find it impossible to ignore what is being said or what has been said by men like Sidgwick and Green, and Spencer and Martineau, and Taylor and Shadworth Hodgson and Paulsen.

Again, the Professor of Christian Ethics must not only consider the law of Christianity conditioning conduct; he must also, or, rather, he may also, consider the Christian's ethical state in relation to this law; for Christian ethics not only sees the Christian in the light of the new obligations imposed by the law of Christ, it also sees him in the light of his new ethical state produced by the Holy Spirit. So that the whole question of Regeneration and Sanctification may properly come under Christian Ethics, and this is a very large part of Dogmatic Theology. In fact, to such an extent do Dogmatics and Ethics overlap that in some writers, as in Nietzsche and Rothe, the whole or nearly the whole dogmatic area is covered by the department of Christian Ethics.

But it is distinctly to the department of Christian Ethics, and not to that of Practical Theology, that the discussion of the great social problems of the day belongs. That these problems should be discussed, that the Church should have something to say in regard to the poverty, disease and crime that seem to be the inevitable result of the congested life of our large cities, and that there is moreover a great and practical work to be done in reference to the pathological conditions of society through organized philanthropic agency, there can be no doubt; but it is a mistake to call this Sociology, and it is worse than a mistake when under the name of Christian Sociology work of this sort is made a substitute for the preaching of the Gospel. For Sociology in its proper sense I have great respect; but for that shallow compound of sociology and sentimentality which is just now the largest output of the new Christianity I have none, for it satisfies neither my intellect nor my feelings.

The man who would deal adequately with the social problem must know, to begin with, what men like Baldwin and Giddings

have to say regarding the psychology of social life; he must know, whether he agrees with them or not, what men like Mackenzie and Bosanquet have to say regarding the metaphysics of society and its final cause. He must have more than a superficial knowledge of the evolution of our institutional life which has given us in their present forms the Family, the Church and the State; he must understand the principles of the great normative sciences of ethics and jurisprudence which deal respectively with the life of the individual and the organism; he must know something of the economic laws that underlie the growth of industrialism; and then, perhaps, he may hope to address himself to the great pathological problems and make an intelligent application to them of the ethical principles of Christianity. But, then, who is sufficient for these things?

2. *Dogmatics*.—Time does not permit me to name and criticise the various definitions that have been given of Dogmatic Theology; but I prefer to say that Dogmatic Theology is a systematic exhibition of our knowledge regarding God. Its content, then, is knowledge. It is what we know and have good reason for knowing, whatever that reason may be. It is knowledge regarding God. It may, and does, include the knowledge of a great many things besides God; but it is the knowledge of those things in their Godward relationships. God is the great category under which all the knowledge which Dogmatic has for content is subsumed. It is systematic knowledge. It is not simply the knowledge of separate dogmas. It is articulated knowledge. It is knowledge that has been brought together under great dominant generalizations. You see, then, at once what a broad field the dogmatic theologian has before him. What a splendid history Dogmatic Theology has had! I can hardly imagine a more interesting study than that of going through the dogmatic writers from the Reformation down to our own day, for the purpose of comparing their methods and of watching the influence of prevailing philosophies upon their forms of statement. With the help of writers on dogmatic history like Gass and Ebrard, and Sweitzer and Heppe, this ought not to be a difficult thing, and it certainly would be an interesting thing to do. As the result of such a study we should find that the Systematic Theology which had been developed so fully under philosophical domination from Albert the Great to Aquinas, and which in the declining days of Scholasticism went through a waning process, was developed under the polemic conditions of the Reformation into new activity. The Reformation principle of the Bible as the rule of faith gave us a period of dogmatic supernaturalism. First

we have the three great dogmaticians of the Reformation—Melancthon in his *Loci communes*, Zwingli in his *de vera et falsa Religione*, and Calvin in his *Institutio Christianæ religionis*. Then came the separation of the Lutheran and Reformed Theologies, the latter proceeding until differences found expression in the antithesis of Gomarus and Arminius, when we had the Synod of Dort and the extrusion of the Arminian party. Reformed Theology still developed, ending in rival, antagonistic and mediating schools. There were the Scholastics, building deductively and taking the eternal purpose as their starting-point. Then there were the Federalists—Cocceius and Witsius—presenting theology as the progressive exhibition of the covenants. There were the Cartesians, representing the influence of philosophy and particularly of natural science—men like Voetius and Maresius, who distinguished between natural and revealed religion, and saw that supernatural revelation presupposed the light of nature and the use of reason. Then came the period when the differences were reconciled and under the influence of the Leibnitzo-Wolfian philosophy a theological Scholasticism was presented which served as a mould by means of which these varying elements could be pressed into shape and symmetry. The federal idea was retained; the decrees were given a conspicuous place; philosophy was recognized as having some function and the great systems of the seventeenth century came forth, notably that of Turretine—the Thomas Aquinas of Protestantism.

Lutheranism, too, went through its period of development, as Ebrard shows; but I have time only to refer to this fact which Ebrard brings out, that while the Reformed Theology was systematic first and dogmatic afterward, the Lutheran Theology was dogmatic first and systematic afterward. The genius of Calvinism was to schematize. Lutheranism dwelt first upon particular dogmas, and reached its schematizing stage later. This is worthy of notice, inasmuch as in later years Lutheranism has distanced all competitors in regard to constructive Dogmatics.

The age of Supernaturalism was followed by that of Rationalism, in which the attempt was made to reduce the doctrines of Christianity to the level of human reason and reject those which resisted the attempt. Following this period of Rationalism or, rather, when Rationalism and Supernaturalism were the contending foes, when it was a duel between infallible Bible and infallible reason, came Schleiermacher, a sort of Platonic Methodist, to protest against the deification of the intellect and plead for the place of the feelings in religion. But his very subjectivism of the feelings, though pro-

testing against the subjectivism of the intellect, was in close alliance with the subjectivism of the intellect. Hence, when Hegel arose, though he was the antithesis of Schleiermacher and ridiculed his definition of religion, he was yet so related to him that mediation was not impossible, so that subsequent writers have given evidence of both influences: and Rothe, when he wrote his *Ethics*, was now a mystic and now a speculative theologian, having one foot, as Lange expresses it, in Schleiermacher's slipper and the other in Hegel's boot. Hence arose the mediating school, the school that seeks to keep the good in both systems and preserve the historic continuity of Church doctrine. To this school belonged Nitzsch and Ullmann, and Dorner and Martensen. And now the last movement is in progress, and the note of the Ritschlian revolt from the reign of Hegel is the banishment of metaphysics from theology. The good side of the movement is its return to the historic basis and its impatience of a theology which resolves the historic faith of Christianity into the glittering generalities of the Hegelian dialectic. The bad side of it is the inevitable schism which it introduces into the life of the individual Christian, between the theology of the intellect and the theology of the feelings. Say what its leaders may respecting the continued hold which these doctrines have as value-judgments, the system must be judged by its net result of fact and rational conviction. No system can stand the strain of an inner contradiction which is implied in holding for true what is known to be false: of believing with the heart what is discredited by the head. And sooner or later Ritschlianism must give up its see-saw of Intellect and Feeling between Socinianism and Evangelical Christianity and settle down to one or the other.

Assuming now that the systematic theologian has his materials ready for organization into system, what method shall he adopt? This, of course, is an important question as a matter of logic: but the impression seems to prevail in some quarters that it is a vital question as a matter of theological content. This, however, I fail to see. There is the strictly local or topical method of the early theologians of Reformation times: there is the federal method of Witsius; there is the method which makes the Trinity the basis of division, which Calvin adopts in his *Institutes*; there is the method which starts from the anthropological standpoint and discusses Sin and its Remedy, as Chalmers does; there is the strictly theological method where everything is discussed under the concept of God; and then there is the Christocentric method, of which so much has been said in recent years by way of disparaging other methods.



But, after all, how can a Christocentric method of schematizing the doctrines affect the doctrines themselves? Here are your separate blocks of dogma, and each has its own significance. You can build those blocks into any shape you please: you may build castles or cathedrals; but however much you change the relations of those blocks to each other, you do not on that account change the individuality of each. Well, then, put your dogmatic blocks together as symmetry, logic and the suggestions of your own intellect may dictate; you do not thereby change the doctrines themselves. Your schematism may not be the same as mine, but neither of us by mere schematism can modify a single doctrinal unit. No, my friends, depend upon it, no new light is going to break forth from the Word of God as the result of a new schematization of the doctrines. The question as to whether a system of doctrine is true is to be tested first of all by the inquiry whether the doctrines of the system are true. If they are true, then the building of them into systems is not only the natural but the necessary outcome of that type of intellect that seeks order and symmetry, and sees related truths in the light of great generalizations. I know that Systematic Theology is discredited in some quarters; some seem to think that it stands as a barrier to religious fervor and practical piety; some tell us that we must get ready for a theological reconstruction and that the time for that reconstruction is at hand. But the only consistent despisers of Systematic Theology are those who in their hearts believe, however slow they may be to confess it, that in the light of history as it is now read, and of philosophy as it is now studied, and of science as it is now proclaimed, there is little or no rational content for Systematic Theology. If the Church's Dogmatic is the result of a Hellenizing process; if the body of Catholic doctrines is a parasitic growth which has fastened itself upon the original simple cult of Jesus, and if, as Harnack believes, the Reformation is only an imperfect attempt to restore this simple undogmatic faith, then I grant you that a Systematic Theology of very modest proportions is all we need. We need talk no more of cathedrals as symbols of our dogmatic system. The humblest two-room hut, without paint or decoration, without even a common wayside flower in the window to tell the presence within of a heart that is touched with feeling or an eye that kindles in the warming presence of beauty, will be a sufficient exponent of the poverty and desolation that must inevitably come as the result of this conception of the origin and growth of the Christian Church. But if the Bible is true, and the Church is built upon the foundation of the apostles

and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone, then the labors of the Fathers, and the decisions of Councils, and the controversies of theologians have been inspired by the efforts of earnest men to do honor to the Word of God. And the great systems of divinity which stretch like mountain peaks before the field of our vision are monumental tributes which the Church of God, through the writings of her gifted men, has had the unspeakable honor of paying to her exalted and incarnate Head.

I do not look for an immediate revival of interest in Systematic Theology, and yet I know that the greatest achievement of the American Church is in this sphere. The Church of England—in some respects, I do not hesitate to say, the greatest Church in Christendom—has done magnificent work in Biblical literature, in Apologetics and in Dogmatic discussion. But upward of thirty years ago Bishop Ellicott deplored her lack of interest in Systematic Theology. The American Churches—I refer particularly to the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches—have won the conspicuous place they hold in theological literature through the labors of their systematic theologians. Think of the names in the great roster of American theologians which come instantly to your lips without effort or need of reference to the books that stand on your shelves—Edwards, Hopkins, Emmons, Taylor, Park, Hodge, Breckenridge, Thornwell, Dabney, Finney, Shedd, Henry B. Smith—systematic theologians every one. Shall we turn this page in the history of American theology and look upon it as the record of a vast mistake? Has the new Christianity taught us only to believe that these were visionary and misguided men? I agree with Harnack and the Ritschlians generally in giving the primacy to our instinctive judgments of worth; but I do not believe that there is a schism between faith and knowledge, between our value-judgments and scientific truth. And what is more, I believe that unless these value-judgments are rooted in a sound metaphysic, they will lose their controlling influence on life. I admit that it is religion, as Harnack says, that gives life its meaning. Rob life of its faith in God, its hope of immortality and the ethical ideals we owe to the teachings of Jesus, and life shrivels into a meaningless medley of hope and fear, of pain and struggle, of unsatisfied desire, of sated appetite, of selfish ambition and the tender memories of cherished love. But who shall say that Nature has anything better for us than bitter disappointments? Jesus, you tell me, has revealed God and told me that God is my Father. But how do we know that Jesus speaks with authority? How, without the Divinity which

we claim for Him and the miraculous evidence that accredits that Divinity, do we feel sure of His authority? Because His message wakes echoes in our souls, you say, and His words find responses in our nature. Then His authority is no higher than our higher impulses. But when we are told that these higher impulses have come by way of natural development, and that even Jesus is only an event in the great cosmic process, what shall our answer be? When these finer feelings, these ethical ideals, these tender instincts are nipped by the frost of a pitiless naturalism, what shall we say? Say that we will not give up? Say that we will set the world of value-judgments against the world of cosmic fact and by sheer assertion win the victory for faith and love? Very well; but then your minimized Christianity is no help in the fight against a naturalistic philosophy. It is only a theistic ethic taught by Jesus, and instead of banishing metaphysics from its realm it is itself a philosophy, and stands or falls with a theistic metaphysic. My friends, I beg you to understand the issue in the great battle of to-day for fundamental Christianity. We had thought that Christianity was more than philosophy and spoke with Divine authority; but in the minimized version of Christianity there is nothing but philosophy left. We had thought it necessary to defend a theistic metaphysic and a theistic ethic as the necessary philosophic basis of a gospel which presented a way of salvation through an incarnate Christ. But we have little heart even for this struggle if Christianity itself turns out, after all, to be only a theistic ethic. If our great Leader is slain and the citadel has capitulated, why need we longer make a fruitless struggle?

Do you see it, my friends? I want you to see it in the stark nakedness of truth. Give me the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ, then Sin, the Atonement and Justification follow; and you have a Dogmatic and Systematic Theology.

But eliminate the Incarnation, and then your religion is an emotional morality connected with the name of Jesus, of whom you still speak in the language made sacred by long use and early association; but in its last analysis it is a moral philosophy in competition with other moral philosophies, and defended by a theistic metaphysic that has to cope with another metaphysic which denies God, or makes no distinction between Him and the works of His hand.

I am pronouncing no judgment on men. I am dealing only with the relationships of thought. I know that men are often better than their creeds; and that deep in the core of a man's being there

is often a better faith than that which he can formulate in words. I am far from saying that apart from Dogmatic Christianity there is no valid ground for a theistic ethic. But the motive that will make a man fight as for his hearthstone and his home in support of that theistic ethic is his abiding belief in the incarnate Christ; and the historic evidence for the incarnate Christ is one of the great bulwarks of theistic belief. Theism is the logical *prius* of the Incarnation, it is true, but theism and the Incarnation are reciprocally influential on each other. This is what I mean when I say that in the defense of supernatural Christianity everything is at stake. And this is the reason that the crisis in which we are to-day is the greatest war of intellect that has ever been waged since the birthday of the Nazarene.

Sooner or later I am sure the eyes of men will be opened and they will see—would to God they might see it now!—that the great battle of the twentieth century is in its final issue a struggle between a Dogmatic Christianity on the one hand and an out-and-out naturalistic philosophy on the other.

*Princeton.*

FRANCIS L. PATTON.



## VI.

# REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE.

## I.—PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS: The Method of Philosophy as a Systematic Arrangement of Knowledge. By Dr. PAUL CARUS. Third Edition. Chicago: The Open Court Company. 1903. 8vo; pp. xii, 373.

THE SURD OF METAPHYSICS: An Inquiry Into the Question, Are There Things-in-Themselves? By the Same. 1903. 8vo; pp. vi, 233.

These two volumes may be presumed to give a fairly satisfactory account of Dr. Carus' philosophy. His writings are voluminous, but it is fair to assume that his other books are either an explication or an application of the philosophical principles here set forth. And this assumption is justified in that the former of these two volumes purports to be and actually is a careful treatise upon the great themes of philosophy, while the latter, although directed to a specific point in metaphysical inquiry, serves to present more fully and clearly the author's views upon the fundamental questions involved; so that we have here, in a nutshell, the Philosophy of the Open Court. This is notwithstanding what is told us in the Preface to the *Fundamental Problems*, namely, that nearly the whole of its contents first appeared as editorial articles in *The Open Court*. A glance at the Table of Contents reveals not only a general connection between the essays, but also a substantial identity of theme and even a logical consecutiveness and harmony in the treatment of it. The author is a man of no merely amateur accomplishments in the arena of dialectical thought and discussion. He has convictions of his own and he is not wanting in courage or ability to enforce them. He disclaims originality or, more accurately, he affirms his endeavor to avoid it. In this, whatever his own modesty may lead him to declare, it will hardly be unjust to charge him with some measure of failure. It may be more surprising to the savants of the opening century that a new and somewhat original philosophy should come out of the utilitarian and Mammon-worshiping city of Chicago than it was to them of old time that any good thing should come out of Nazareth; but in both instances the thing which surprises is the thing that comes to pass. Dr. Paul Carus is the brilliant author and persistent proponent of this new philosophy. It is neither possible nor desirable to set forth in full its postulates and principles in this review, and yet, as all theology banks up against philosophy, and as this system—in so far forth true to the philosophical instinct and necessity—explicitly invades the realm of religious thought and ethical motive,

we may examine the elements of this American Positivism for the sake of its placement in the general scheme of modern philosophical encyclopædia, and of learning what are not only its alleged but also its logical and implicit bearings upon the intellectual elements of the Christian religion.

Dr. Carus conceives the problem of philosophy to be "the arrangement of all knowledge into one harmonious system which will be a unitary conception of the world and can serve as a basis for ethics" (i, 7).<sup>\*</sup> He admits that his Monism differs from other philosophies in this, that it "is not a finished system but a plan for a system" (i, 24). The unitary conception is the goal of philosophy. This conception presupposes the idea of the continuity of nature which, however, he significantly says, "has not yet been proved in all its details" (i, 7). This unity of Reality must be unqualifiedly accepted. It is true in thought because it is true in fact. This conception is grounded on positive facts, and therefore the system is called "Positivism"—a term which, although he adopts it, he cannot accept with the connotation of M. Auguste Comte who introduced it. Facts are ultimates; they are equally real or equally unreal. "Monism" also designates this philosophy of the unitary conception. But this Monism is not a "one substance theory"; Spinoza's doctrine was a pseudo-Monism, a "Henism." The author is Hegelian enough to tell us that Monism is a "recognition of dualities and their reconciliation in higher unities" (ii, 76, 77). Idealism affirms spirit only and Realism affirms matter only, whereas in truth both spirit and matter are mere abstracts and neither exists. True Monism recognizes the oneness of All-Existence. There are no differences of kind in this One; no Creator and created, no Supernatural and natural, no divine and human. God and the universe are One. All nature is alive. Haeckel says that all nature has intelligence; this is "panpsychism." Carus says all nature is alive or has the capacity to live; this is "panbiotism" (ii, 170). Life is an immanent property of matter. There is organic life and inorganic life; the former no doubt originated in the latter. But the barrier between them has been broken down by modern thought, and life is now recognized as a fundamental property of matter; indeed, "it must be eternal" (i, 111). Reality is indivisible; the most important abstracts are Matter, Force and Form—these three, but the greatest of these is Form.

Epistemologically stated, all knowledge has its root in sensation and sensation is primarily feeling and not choice, as Prof. Romanes believed. Feeling is fundamental and the *rationale* of feeling is purely biological. In the development of knowledge from feeling the conditioning factor is Memory, and this memory is nothing more than the psychological aspect of certain preserved physiological forms in sentient substance (i, 12). Constant special irritation has created special senses; the unity of consciousness is the product of the whole organism and the Soul is not an entity; it is not a separate or separable independent something; it is only "the psychical aspect of all the organic forms of our body" (i, 14). The old ego-centric psychology is abandoned and the new is accepted, which regards "the centre of consciousness as the strongest feeling at a given time, which as such naturally predominates over and eclipses the other feelings of the organism" (ii, 195).

Metaphysically stated, the ultimate category of thought is to be found in the Laws of Form. These are eternal, irrefragable and everywhere the same. They are always "*correct*, i.e., the truths of formal thought, but they are not always *real*, i.e., the truths of a well-ascertained experience"

<sup>\*</sup> For convenience in reference, I indicate the first volume named at the beginning as volume i, and the second as volume ii.

(i, 69). The real is not a necessary existence; but if it do exist, then it must exist in accordance with these Laws of Form. The Ultimate of thought is not any Thing-in-itself but Forms-in-themselves. Kant nodded in overlooking the essential difference between the subjective and the ideal, and the consequent confusion weakens the very foundations of his system. The ideal belongs to the realm of ideas and is therefore metaphysically eternal; the subjective belongs only to the realm of the thinking or feeling agent, and is therefore psychologically variable. Kant distinguishes between the *à priori* and the *à posteriori* correctly enough, but he attributes the former only to subjectivity; and, whereas he erroneously makes the subjective equivalent to the ideal, the truth is that the infinitely most important part of the subjective of Kant, namely, the ideal as correctly conceived, is preëminently, if not exclusively, entitled to the honors of the *à priori*. For, indeed, from the evolutionistic and Monistic point of view the subjective is really not *à priori* in any correct sense at all, seeing that it pertains simply to the perceiving or the conceiving subject; and to us men this subject, this soul or mind or ego or what-not, is only a fragment or moment of the Great All-One. Man, like charcoal, is simply "transformed solar heat"; and "mind is not something different from the world, but must be considered as its product and highest efflorescence" (ii, 22). Hence Kant was wrong in regarding the mind as able actively to import forms into phenomena; these mind-forms or categories of thought are only a reflection of the forms of objective existence, preserved in the plastic but ceaselessly crystallizing sentient substance. The subjective *à priori* is liable to all the mutations and fluctuations of a psychological experience; the ideal *à priori*, which is Dr. Carus' *à priori*, resides in these eternal, imperial, immanent and even "supernatural" (ii, 87) Laws of Form.

So much may serve imperfectly to give to one unfamiliar with this philosophy a rough but true conception of its teachings and tendencies. Its author argues for its truth very earnestly and sometimes with much force. In the course of his arguments, he says many things which are both excellent and true, but we are now dealing not with detached thoughts in his system but with the system itself. Dr. Carus frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to Kant. He regards his own position as the natural outcome of the Critical Philosophy, but not without very important differences. He calls it Kantism developed, broadened, matured and adapted to our time. "It is a protest against the halfness of agnosticism and a rejection of the perverted ethics of hedonism" (i, vi). Both intellectual and ethical excellences are claimed in its behalf. It "means perspicuous simplicity. It is the systematic and clear conception of an intelligible reality." It is the "classical philosophy" (i, 251). Materialism invariably leads to hedonism or utilitarianism; spiritualism or idealism leads to asceticism: but this classical philosophy "finds the purpose of existence in the constant aspiration of realizing a higher and better, a nobler and more beautiful state of existence" (i, 189). In short, it is a new Gospel not only for the philosopher in his search for truth, but also for the people in their chase for happiness and fullness of life.

All this is promising, but what is to be expected in the performance? Is this new Occidental Philosophy pagan or Christian? Does it square well or ill with the things most surely believed throughout the Church of God? Does it ring true or false to what Christendom reveres as the Word of God, and does it acknowledge or regard the fundamental elements of Christianity?

In finding its theological and religious valuation, we have two methods within our reach. We may take the plain utterances of the author himself



as bearing upon our inquiry, or we may take his system and decide upon it for ourselves. For himself, the author, while claiming everything for his philosophy, frankly affirms his radical break with evangelical Christianity. He tells us that he does *not* persist in calling himself a Christian, although to a great extent he gladly accepts Christ's ethics. He regards Christ and Christianity as radically different. He seeks the direct revelation of God in the facts of life and solemnly warns us that "the surrender of science is the way to perdition." If theism is identical with supernaturalism—and it certainly is—then he tells us that he must beg to be classed among the atheists. There is no disputing the correctness of this classification; and, as a confession of faith, we have here enough to place Dr. Carus among the Philistines. But passing by the teacher, let us look into his teaching to see whither it tends, theologically. The bottom postulate of a philosophy correlates with the theistic conception in theology. Dr. Carus' final postulate is the "Laws of Form." Metaphysically, this foundation hangs in midair. Every impulse of the modern philosophical spirit, crying out for the Ultimate Personality, is ignored and repulsed. We fail to see wherein the positing of these Eternal Laws has a single advantage in the search for a metaphysical *terra firma*; and certainly the considerations which have brought the sanest and strongest of the accredited philosophers in Christendom, especially in recent times, to acknowledge Personality as the highest note and final category of our thinking are, metaphysically regarded, incomparably to be preferred. But with Dr. Carus these Laws are God. "By God we understand the order of the world that makes harmony, evolution, aspiration and morality possible" (i, 152). He conceives God to be not less than a person but more; and yet, building perhaps more consistently than he intended, he calls God "it" and not "Him." The conception of God as a person is poetry, not science. These Eternal Laws "possess all those qualities which a pious reflection has attributed to God" (see i, p. 54). The Cosmos, which is the One, which is God, is the foundation of morality. "We may compare it to a father and with Christ call it 'Our Father,' just as well as we like to speak of Mother Nature" (i, 323). But it must be remembered that this is only a simile which, if carried out, would lead to serious misapprehension.

This is not exactly the theism of the Decalogue. Monism is monotheism, but wait to hear what kind of monotheism it is: "God is not one in number but one in kind. He is unique. To believe in one God, as opposed to several Gods, is a pagan view which is more advanced than polytheism, but remains upon the same level" (ii, 155, 156). Monism revises the second Word of the Law and tells us that even as we shall not bow down ourselves to graven images nor serve them, so also we shall not bow down before the true God which is the All-in-All to worship it. "We do not call the All God in order to bow down into the dust and to adore it. We regard adoration as a pagan custom which, it is a pity, survived in Christianity" (i, 261). This is a consistent corollary, it is true; but it is the consistency of a deliberate and downright twentieth century paganism, which not only would smash the shrines of all creeds and cults but also would throttle the very instinct of religion in man, which leads him upward toward his God. Religion is only man's aspiration to be in harmony with the All: it matters not how well he succeeds; it matters not that, whatever he is or becomes or does, he is still, in spite of himself, a part of the All: only let him *aspire*, and that is the Alpha and Omega of religion.

Nor is this new Positivism less advanced in its doctrine of Man. *Talis Deus, qualis homo*. Man is the flower of nature—not even its fruit. Mr. Edison says that, in its own little way, the atom is everything that man is.



Dr. Carus agrees, and yet the atom itself is but a convenient scientific fiction. The ego is no entity. Memory produces selfhood, not *vice versa*. Personality is the symbolical thread on which are strung the beads of our existence. The ideas which live in us constitute the self. Abstract thought helped to make man man; but, pray, how could it help to "make" him man, seeing that he must needs be man before he could be helped by it? Truth is relation; if it has any meaning, it is correct cognition. Man is the child of the cosmic past; but the Cosmos is the All-God; therefore, man is the son of God. As a rational being "man's begetter is not his brute progenitor but the eternal order of the universe" (ii, 224, 225). This is Fatalism stripped of every shred of the idea of Providence or Plan or Personality. Such an anthropology is quickly self-interpreting. Man is but a coördinating factor in the living All. Atoms are centres of living spontaneity. There is no push or pull of gravity from without; all nature lives. This all-pervading spontaneity comes to the front in God-like beauty in the moral character of man. But he is dust and only dust; into dust he need not return, for only dust he ever is. "Christ's words are literally true when he says, 'God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham'" (ii, 54). Any doctrine of man which makes his soul to consist only of a series of successive states, whether taught by Emmons or Spencer or Dr. Carus, takes away the franchise for any intelligent notion of immortality which involves a continued personal existence and consciousness after death, and so does violence not only to the Christian Religion but also to the highest extra-Christian faiths of mankind.

But it is needless to compass all sides of this pretentious philosophy. The touchstone of any system of thought is to be found in its attitude toward theism. Its teachings must have either a direct or an indirect theological reference. Not that the philosopher must wait with a "By your leave" for the theologian; but the theologian must find room for himself within the pale of a philosophy or he forthwith declines to abide there. The principles of this Positivism are a direct negation of many of the most elementary truths of Christianity. Its unitary conception is not the unity of truth but the essential kinship, the identity of the All; the oneness of the whole enclosing circumference of Reality, together with all that it encloses. It is Pantheism robbed of its mystical adorations and its confessedly somewhat redeeming features. It is Cosmism, scorning the more and more generous concessions to Christianity of the lamented author of *The Outlines of the Cosmic Philosophy*. It is not so far from Comte's Positivism as it imagines; for it regards with patient and patronizing complacency the crude anthropomorphisms and excrescences of mankind's present religious state, remembering that mythology is ever an indispensable ladder to be climbed in making the difficult ascent to truth. Dr. Carus is at no pains to make his peace with evangelical theology. He has chosen his own way, but he will never win the thought or the heart of humanity. His philosophy will be accurately classed as atheistic, and atheism is false philosophy. To make God one with the Cosmos is, to an ardent scientist who makes the way of science the way of life and the surrender of science the way of death, not acosmism, as Spinoza, the God-intoxicated man, would hold it, but atheism, as the world-intoxicated scientist is bound to hold it in the end. For the human mind is not ingenious enough to be able to hold consistently the same thing as God and the world. Its faith becomes either atheistic pancosmism or pantheistic acosmism. However successful Spinoza was in holding consistently to the latter, this new philosophy, with its commendable but overstated loyalty to empirical science, is essentially the former, pure and simple.

The merit of this philosophy is that it wears no disguise. It spurns the idea of the Unknowable and truly argues that all that exists is capable of being known. Like all other implicitly atheistic systems, it is inconsistent enough to substitute Eternal Law for God and the Cosmos for the basis of the indispensable authority in religion and in ethics. It withholds Mr. Spencer's patronizing but inconsistent sop to the superstitions of the religious and coldly bids men, since there is nothing adorable to adore, to cease from the pagan folly of adoration. This forbids all worship of God; and why not? for there is no God such as men could worship. The Great Teacher said to the woman of Samaria: "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." The voice of the new Positivism, speaking forth from the shores of Lake Michigan, says: "Spirit is not a substance; spirit is the significance of words"; and, again, "Adoration is a pagan custom which, it is a pity, survived in Christianity."

Trenton.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

HEGEL'S LOGIC. An Essay in Interpretation. By JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, Ph.D., Stuart Professor of Logic in Princeton University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

This is an important and valuable book by an author who has already demonstrated his capacity to combine clear thought with clear statement. Hegel is generally a *pons assinorum* to his expositors, who in reckoning with him seem, as a rule, to claim the privilege of being unintelligible. The temptation is specially strong in dealing with Hegel's Logic, which is the very sphinx itself to most of its interpreters. Prof. Hibben is to be congratulated on the very obvious and sensible but very unusual presumption with which he sets out, namely, that Hegel is to be regarded as his own best interpreter. That is it in a nutshell, and one can imagine the iron Hegel relaxing into a smile at being permitted so unusual a privilege. Now, in midsummer a man's fancy does not lightly turn to thoughts of Hegel. Nevertheless, the novelty of Prof. Hibben's plan has beguiled me, and I have found the exercise both pleasant and instructive. The book is composed of an Introduction and three main parts, with an Appendix. The Introduction treats of the general significance of the Logic as a system of philosophy, representing, as it does, a complete intellectual system of the universe. The Hegelian conception is then compared with a number of other points of view, embodied in the Empirical School—the Critical Philosophy, the doctrine of the Intuitionists and various metaphysical systems—the defective positions of which are *aufgehoben*, to use a favorite Hegelian term, in Hegelism. It is a characteristic of Hegelism that it claims finality, and that it must be accepted as final of its kind. Hegelism will no doubt always stand as the completest ideal in philosophy of that method which proceeds on the assumption of the identity of reality with the dialectical movement and categories of thought. Prof. Hibben shows how the Logic presents an abstract statement of the living dialectic of thinking, the succession of concepts which it unfolds in its threefold movement, exhibiting not only the steps by which thought moves on toward its goal, but also the process in which the world of being realizes the system of reality.

After pointing out the general course of the Logic, Prof. Hibben gives a detailed account of the process by which Hegel traces the movement of the dialectic through its three principal stages of Being, Essence and The Notion, up to the point where the system culminates in the ideas of the Absolute and the Eternal Reason. This, the main part of the work, is carefully worked out and shows a close acquaintance with the thought of Hegel. It

is here also that the value of Prof. Hibben's determination to permit Hegel to interpret himself becomes most apparent. The interpreter negates himself largely in his function, and it is Hegel himself, smoothed out and talking good English, that we are listening to. In a final chapter, Prof. Hibben deals with the relation of the Logic to the concrete divisions of Hegel's system, his Philosophy of Nature and Philosophy of Mind. The Logic, as Dr. Stirling has somewhere said, is the diamond net of categories which remains after the content of reality has been squeezed out. We have only to suppose the reverse of the squeezing process in order to find the logical categories immanent in the world as the inner form and constitution of its reality. In an Appendix, Prof. Hibben adds a very welcome Glossary of Hegelian terms. This feature will add to the acceptability of the book to the general reader, as well as materially to its value to the student of Hegel. The work of Prof. Hibben is to be commended as a very unpretentious but helpful handbook on an exceedingly difficult subject. The method followed is judicious. The acquaintance of the author with his subject commends itself throughout, and the student of Hegel will be under obligation to him for putting so much of the thought of the Master into good understandable English.

Princeton, N. J.

ALEXANDER T. ORMOND.

## II.—APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

AGNOSTICISM. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Palermo; and Professor in the University of Edinburgh. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. 8vo; pp. xviii, 664. \$2.00 net.

This large and solid "volume is part of what was many years ago announced as meant to form when completed a System of Natural Theology which would deal with four great problems:—

- "1. To exhibit what evidence there is for belief in the existence of God;
- "2. To refute anti-theistic theories—atheism, materialism, positivism, secularism, pessimism, pantheism and agnosticism;
- "3. To delineate the character of God as disclosed by nature, mind and history, and to show what light the truth thus ascertained casts upon man's duty and destiny; and,
- "4. To trace the rise and development of the idea of God and the history of theistic speculation.

"The first theme was dealt with in *Theism*, and the second in *Anti-Theistic Theories*, agnosticism excepted, which is the subject of the present volume."

The book opens with a very discriminating discussion of the "Nature of Agnosticism." After stating "the Origin, Original Application and Defects of the term," the author proceeds to describe it as an "epistemological theory equivalent to philosophical scepticism." It does not, as its name would imply, indicate the negation of knowledge or of the power of knowledge. It indicates the contrary, "negation of the illusion of knowledge and of the fancied power of knowledge." It differs from ordinary doubt and ordinary disbelief: for while these have their reasons in the objects or propositions examined by the mind, not in distrust of the mind itself; "agnosticism challenges evidence, and refuses to be convinced by it, on the deeper and subtler ground that the mind is inherently incapable of deriving truth or



certainly from what seemingly presents even the strongest claims to be regarded as evidence." It may, therefore, be considered "the contrary extreme to gnosticism." Indeed, the gnostic may be described as "one who attributes to the human mind more power of attaining truth than it actually possesses," while the agnostic is "one who will not allow that the human mind possesses as much power of acquiring knowledge as it really has." Hence, it would be "erroneous and unwise to take up a merely unsympathetic and hostile attitude toward agnosticism." "That system is not devoid of truth but the exaggeration of truth, not wholly evil but evil by excess." It emphasizes an important truth. "To believe where there is insufficient reason for belief is as much a fault as to doubt in opposition to sufficient evidence." Agnosticism having been thus described and estimated is now more closely defined by comparison with various "erroneous views" of it. Then follows the "history of agnosticism": oriental, classical and modern. This is completed by a very careful presentation and searching criticism of the agnosticism of Hume and of Kant, the two great "fountain heads of the agnosticism of the present day." This, or agnosticism in general, is next considered. First, "complete or absolute agnosticism" is described, discussed and refuted, and its antagonism to first principles and also to the demands of practical life is exposed. "Mitigated and partial agnosticism and their forms" are then presented in their various interrelations. This leads to the consideration of "partial or limited agnosticism as to ultimate objects of knowledge." These are the self, the world and God. "Agnosticism as to God" is, of course, in accordance with the expressed purpose of the book, dealt with at most length. After considering "the prevalence of anti-religious agnosticism" and giving some causes of this, "agnosticism as to religious belief" is discussed in detail. "The theories as to belief" are examined; the "sphere of belief" is defined; the relation of Christian faith to belief is set forth; some of the chief causes why belief as to religion is so often false are indicated; "the sceptical inferences from the prevalence of false religious belief" are shown to be erroneous; the "true inferences from the prevalence of false religious belief" are presented; the "bases of agnostic religious belief in Christianity" are exhibited; "religious belief and transmitted common doctrine and general consent" are considered; "the relation of character to the history of belief" is discussed; "the relation of belief to authority" is inquired into, and the "forms of religious authority" are presented. The last chapter is on "agnosticism as to the knowledge of God." "A glance at the history of religious knowledge" introduces an inquiry as to the senses in which knowledge of God is not attainable." "The agnostic positions relative to knowledge of God" are then stated and discussed. This is followed by a searching criticism of the agnosticism of Hamilton, Mansel and Spencer; and the book closes by showing the place and office of the "present work as part of a system of natural theology."

This bare and imperfect outline will, it is hoped, give some idea of the scope of this comprehensive and admirable treatise. Only a very careful reading, however, can afford any just idea of the thoroughness with which every detail of the plan has been elaborated. The volume is a large one, yet the style is as concise usually as would consist with clearness. A page is often the summary of a book. Impartiality of treatment and positiveness of conviction go everywhere hand in hand. The agnostic has no fairer critic, as he has no more uncompromising antagonist. Originality is always combined with learning and culture. We are at a loss which to admire the more, the profound knowledge of the history of agnosticism or the independent vigor with which its positions are undermined. As we could scarcely



award this book higher praise than to say that it is well worthy to follow and to be associated with what is still our best work on theism and what is yet our most satisfactory discussion of the anti-theistic theories, so this is certainly its due. It must long remain the standard treatise on agnosticism.

It is as timely, moreover, as it is excellent. Anti-religious agnosticism is rife. Probably it is the attitude of the masses toward religion. Such agnosticism, however, is answered as completely as it is presented genially in this volume. We are shown that agnosticism as to God must, unless inconsistent, become agnosticism as to everything; and that agnosticism as to everything, whether in the form of doubt or of disbelief, involves a fatal contradiction. "In the very act of maintaining that truth cannot be reached, it implies that it has been reached." In denying that we can know, it affirms that we know that we cannot know. "This, however, is a truth so comprehensive as to be a whole philosophy in itself—a truth which enables us to decide on the worth of every proposition which the human mind can entertain." Is not such agnosticism the extreme of gnosticism? But religious agnosticism is also widely prevalent. Probably it is the attitude of a majority of the members of the church. Their faith is more or less blind. They believe without knowing why or wherefore, and they are satisfied so to believe. In so far as they think at all, they despair of knowledge in the sphere of religion. Hamilton, Mansel, and more recently Ritschl and Sabatier, come to their support. We are taught, that the spheres of science and of religion are entirely distinct; that as science cannot rest on faith, so religion cannot depend on knowledge; and that to give up the belief that religion does depend on knowledge is the first step in growth in grace. This position Prof. Flint effectually undermines. He shows, that as there can be no knowledge without belief, so there ought to be no belief without knowledge; that as religious belief differs from ordinary belief and Christian faith from ordinary religious belief, so religious belief and just as much Christian faith involve all that is essential in ordinary belief and, therefore, must depend on knowledge or evidence; that, consequently, "we have no right to believe what we do not know to be true or more than we know to be true"; that we know to be true that for the truth of which we perceive adequate reasons; and that by reason in this connection we are not to understand "so-called pure reason or mere ratiocination," but "the entire rational self, regulating all and not dispensing with any of the principles and powers of human nature so far as they can be rationally controlled, made 'subservient to moral purposes,' and auxiliar to divine."

We presume that it is at this point that Prof. Flint will be criticised most. He will be called, as he admits that he has been called, "a rationalist." His position, however, as he shows conclusively, is as Christian and as Scriptural as it is rational. It does not exalt the human reason above either God or the Bible; but it would submit reason to both because God is the reason of reason and the Bible evinces itself to reason as His Word. It does not reject what it cannot comprehend simply because it cannot comprehend it; but it does reject what it cannot comprehend unless it rests on the authority of one whom it sees to be rational to trust, and it insists that what is there received on trust must be conceived to be of such a nature that it could be comprehended by human reason were the latter only strong enough. It does not make the Christian life depend on logical proof rather than "the witness of the Spirit": on the contrary, it insists on the witness of the Spirit resulting in "a veritable spiritual experience of the influence of the truth" as the strongest of all evidences and the one without which all others would in this connection be insufficient. If this be rationalism, then, we cannot refrain from saying with Prof. Flint, "We are rationalists, unblushing

and impenitent rationalists, who consider all who do not thus far agree with us as irrationalists"; and we would add that such irrationalism is sapping and destroying the Christian life of our day. How can we follow Him who is the supreme Reason, if we have no reason for doing so? How can we love Him who is the Truth, if we do not try to understand Him? Christianity is much more than an intellectual system; but inasmuch as it is at best an intellectual system, how can it be embraced by those who decline to think with reference to it?

There are one or two statements which, we fear, will be stumbling blocks to many. One is on p. 513. "A very short creed may be much better than a long one, and quite sufficient if received intelligently and firmly." This, however, is on the supposition that the individual has no evidence that would justify his acceptance of a longer creed. The question as to how long a creed is justified by the New Testament is not raised. Prof. Flint may differ from us on this point *toto cœlo*, but we are sure that we do not misinterpret him in holding that he would teach that a creed ought to be as long as the evidence will warrant and that the longer it is on this condition the better.

Another position that may seem dangerous to many is that with reference to the external evidences (*Vid.* p. 549). Really, however, they are not depreciated; they are only put in their true place. "We may be convinced on such external grounds as the miracles and prophecies recorded in Scripture that the Scriptures are true, and yet be quite blind to the truth of the truths in Scripture—just as a man may be quite convinced on external evidence that Euclid is all true and yet not see the truth of a single proposition in Euclid. Arguments from miracles and prophecies may lead to the conclusion that the Gospel is not the work of man but the word of God, but assent to that conclusion is not equivalent to faith in the Gospel as truth. Mysteries are, doubtless, involved in Christianity as in nature, but mysteries are no more the direct objects of Christian faith than of natural faith, and a 'mystery' into which we could have no insight would be, as Lotze says, 'a mere curiosity devoid of all connection with our religious needs, and, on that account, an unworthy object of revelation.'" Surely this is not to undervalue the external evidences. It is only to emphasize what is more important because stronger and the only sufficient evidence. It is not to say that the external evidences are not very useful, and in their place indispensable and divinely appointed and divinely used instrumentalities; it is to say that the Word of God can be truly believed only on the testimony of the Spirit of God. No other than this is, in such a case, adequate evidence. "Revelation, even at its highest, and taken in its strictest sense, must be directly verifiable, otherwise it would be a revelation that did not reveal, and certainly a revelation which could not accomplish those spiritual ends for the sake of which alone we can reasonably conceive a revelation to have been given."

In bringing this somewhat desultory review of a by no means desultory book to a close the writer would add that he does not recall a single important statement to which he feels obliged to dissent except that with which the volume ends. "That many others will follow on the same lines" with the author he does not doubt; but that, without his continued guidance, "they will advance much further than he has been able to do," he does question. At all events, Prof. Flint would seem to be uniquely qualified "to delineate the character of God as disclosed by nature, mind and history, and to show what light the truth thus ascertained casts upon man's duty and destiny." This, it is most earnestly to be hoped, he will have health and leisure to do. The prevalence of the Ritschlian theology makes an urgent

demand for the development of natural theology. The latter is inadequate even where it says the most, and it has nothing to say as to the fact and method of redemption. Nevertheless, the Gospel presupposes it and in so far forth depends on it. If we are savingly, because rationally, to believe that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself," we must first have "seen clearly the invisible things of Him, having perceived them through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity." It is just because God has revealed Himself to us in nature that He can make to us the further and more glorious revelation in His Son.

Princeton.

WM. BRENTON GREENE, JR.

COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY. By J. A. MACCULLOCH, Rector of St. Columba's, Portree, Isle of Skye. London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, W. C., 1902. 8vo; pp. xii, 332.

This is not the treatise of a scientific theologian: it is the plea of an earnest advocate. In its comparison of the different faiths it does not aim at completeness for its own sake: its purpose is rather such a comparison of the doctrines of the various religions of the world as will tend to substantiate the author's theory. This theory is not the popular one that the different religions represent successive stages of progress in the natural evolution of religious thought; and that thus Christianity, because only the last and highest of these stages, is one with them and as purely natural as are they. On the contrary, it is a unique and absolute because supernatural Christianity for which Mr. MacCulloch stands; but while this is so, his "own view is that God has never left Himself without witness, and that the beliefs of heathen races, the hopes of paganism, have been fulfilled in Christianity." He believes most strongly in the absoluteness of Christianity, but he believes just as strongly that the faiths of paganism sustain to it, not a relationship of "antagonism," but one of "preparation." They voice, and they were taught by God to voice, the wants which Christianity alone answers. This our author would illustrate and so prove by comparing Christianity with the religions of the world with respect to "Monotheistic Tendencies," the "Trinity," "Creation," the "Incarnation," "Sin," "Sacrifice and Atonement," "Glimpses of a Saviour," the "Church," the "Communion of Saints," "Rites of Baptism, Initiation and Purification," "Sacramental Communion with the Divine," the "Future Life," "Inspiration and Sacred Books." Thus he shows, or would show, that every one of the doctrines of Christianity has its counterpart in one or more of the ethnic faiths; the shadow of which it is the reality, the longing of which it is the satisfaction, the type of which it is the anti-type: and he concludes "that at no time in the world's history did God leave Himself without witness, but in divers parts and in many manners led mankind on to the Christ who was to be. If God controls the movements of history and the life of the universe, He equally watches over the religious beliefs of the soul, so that however much men may go astray, and however degraded these beliefs may be, they shall yet preserve some seed of truth which will be fruitful in time to come."

On this whole discussion we would remark as follows:

1. It is well done. Mr. MacCulloch's style is concise and clear; he draws from many and the best sources; his statements are accurate; his judgments are careful and usually fair; a good index and excellent book-making add to the attractiveness and the usefulness of the volume.

2. It is a work that has needed to be done. As our author remarks, "a detailed comparison of the actual doctrines of paganism with those of Christianity has scarcely been attempted before." "Trench's *Hulsean Lectures*,



Rawlinson's *Contrasts of Christianity with Pagan and Jewish Systems*, and De Maistre's *Soirées de St. Petersbourg* offer a comparison of some of the Christian doctrines with those of classical religions, but go no farther afield. A general comparison of Christianity and heathenism will be found in Hardwicke's *Christ and Other Masters*, Döllinger's *The Gentile and the Jew*, and in any of the numerous works which the 'science of religion' has called forth." In the detail of its comparisons the book before us is, doubtless, the only one of its kind.

3. Our author's contention is true. The religions of the world must sustain a relation to the religion for the world; and whether that relation be one of antagonism or not, they must in a real sense be "preparations" for it. Otherwise, God would not be He who "knows the end from the beginning." This position, however, needs to be more carefully guarded than is always done in the work under review. The supernatural religion that God has given from heaven by His Son and through His Spirit must differ in kind and not merely in degree from the religions that men have developed for themselves and out of themselves, even though with divine leading and support. Under no circumstances, no, not in heaven, can the human and the divine be put into the same class. Hence, it is not correct, as on page 309, to speak of the Bible as differing from other sacred books in degree only; or of the Christian doctrine of inspiration as being essentially one with that of the heathen. This is to do away with the most fundamental of all distinctions, that between the natural and the supernatural. Again, it is not correct to intimate, as in several places our author does (*Vid.* p. 318), that because Christ is "the desire of all nations," the one to whom all religions, really though unconsciously, have pointed, therefore all men, though they have died in ignorance of Him, will yet rejoice in Him and be saved by Him. This is contrary to the express teaching of the Apostle that as belief in Christ is necessary to salvation, so to believe on Christ one must hear of Him (Rom. x. 14). It is to confound faith with desire, the wish for a saviour with confidence in the Saviour. Still further, it is not the fact, as Mr. MacCulloch's argument would imply, that the divine elements in the religions of the world are of a piece with them. These truths are the remains of a primitive supernatural revelation or, as we should prefer, may be traced to the outworking of that ineradicable religious nature which God has given to every man. The religions themselves in which these truths are embedded as gold in the dross are the expressions, not of man's nature in so far as it could not be perverted, but of that nature as it has been corrupted by sin. All men seek after God in one way or another because, made in His image, they cannot destroy either their innate idea of Him or their sense of need of Him; but the reason why they worship Him by means of likenesses of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things, is that they refused to have God in their knowledge and so He gave them up to a reprobate mind to do those things which are not fitting (*Vid.* Rom. i). Because, therefore, the truths in the world's religions are preparations for Christianity it should not be argued that these religions themselves are not essentially antagonistic to it. On the contrary, it was in antagonism to it that they arose; it is by such antagonism that they have developed; and it is through the absolute failure of their antagonism that they clear the way for Christianity and so may be spoken of as preparing for it. Because the dross contains some specks of gold, you may not say that the dross is in order to the standard coin the need and possibility of which the gold suggests. All that the dross can do is by its own worthlessness to emphasize the need.

4. In showing the naturalness of Christianity this book presents what in our judgment is one of the strongest arguments for its supernaturalness. It



is precisely because our religion is in analogy with nature, whereas the religions of the world are not, that we believe that it is not from the same source with them, but is from God. We would reason thus in all other concerns. If of many letters one corresponds with and answers the questions raised by another that you recognize as coming, though mediately, from your friend, while the others sustain no such relation to it, that decides for you; you feel at once that this particular letter is from him himself.

5. Heartily though we commend the argument of this work as a whole, we find ourselves compelled to dissent as heartily from certain of its statements: as, for example, that the Confucian Classics were regarded as inspired; that sacramental efficacy is "denied by all the Protestant sects, and that the Anglican theory of that efficacy is the Scriptural one; and that Calvinism has been a blight on the religious life of the West as the doctrine of transmigration has been on that of the East" (p. 287).

*Princeton.*

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

MIRACLES AND SUPERNATURAL RELIGION. By JAMES MORRIS WHITON, Ph.D. (Yale). New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1903. Duod.; pp. 144.

This attractively written and very attractively issued little book is a determined attempt to explain away all the miracles of the Bible, even the virgin birth and the physical resurrection of our Lord. In the case of the latter, it is true, "something objective must have happened"; what this was, however, is of comparatively little importance. The explanation given of the miracles is that "they were the natural product of an extraordinary endowment of life." They were "the effluence of extraordinary lives." They were supernatural in the sense that they were essentially spiritual phenomena; they were not supernatural in the sense that they were works due to the immediate exercise of the power of God. Here we meet the fundamental error of the discussion. Its theory of the universe is monism: there is but one substance, and that is spirit; God and man are in reality one; the difference between the natural and the supernatural is of degree only, not of kind. The argument, if so it may be called, often proceeds on false assumptions and as often resorts to expedients as amusing as they are weak. For example, it is assumed that if a "miracle is the personal intervention of God into the chain of cause and effect, then, when no miracles occur, God is not personally, *i.e.*, actively, in the chain of natural causes and effects." Were this so, however, a manufacturer could not personally, *i.e.*, actively, be controlling the production of his factory unless he were with his own hand regulating the engine. Of the weak and amusing expedients called in, the following is an instance. The difficulty involved in the cases of raising the dead would be relieved could it be shown that the dead were not really dead, but only in a state of suspended animation. That this was so is rendered probable by several considerations. Among them is this. The miracles of our Lord were works of mercy. In view of the troubles of life, it might not be a mercy to call a dead man back to life. To revive one, however, who was about to be buried while in a swoon would be an act of the greatest mercy; and, hence, we (*Vid.* p. 65) should incline to this view of the matter. We do not remember ever to have read a book in which the question was begged so persistently from beginning to end; in which facts were so wilfully distorted in the interests of a theory; in which Rothe's maxim was more frequently and more clearly illustrated, "Without miracles the divine revelation must infallibly degenerate into magic."

*Princeton.*

WM. BRENTON GREENE, JR.

JESUS CHRIST: HIS ORIGIN AND CHARACTER. By FRANK BALLARD, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.M.S., Etc. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo, pp. 32.

This attractive pamphlet is chapter VIII. of the volume entitled *The Miracles of Unbelief* (Fourth Edition), published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, and reviewed at considerable length and most favorably in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, 1901. This eighth chapter is among the ablest in what we regard as the most effective apologetic work of recent years, and it is that one which is best adapted to the general reader. The publishers and the importers have done admirably in bringing it in its present handy and taking form before the public. We join the author in the hope that "it will lead on to the further consideration of the whole case for Christian belief as set forth" in his larger book.

Princeton.

W. BRENTON GREENE, JR.

### III.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

"BABEL AND BIBLE" Controversy and Related Literature.

BABEL AND BIBLE: Two Lectures on the Significance of Assyriological Research for Religion. Embodying the most important criticisms and the author's replies. By DR. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by Thomas J. McCormack and W. H. Carruth. Profusely illustrated. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1903. Pp. iv., 167. Price 75 cents net.

The description given on the title-page may justly be amplified and elucidated. In addition to the celebrated lectures delivered by Prof. Delitzsch in the august presence of the German Emperor, this little volume contains a bibliography of the German debate which arose over them. "The most important criticisms" cited are seven in number, and include the letter of Emperor William, Prof. Harnack's analysis of the Emperor's attitude, the opinion of the venerable French Assyriologist M. Halévy, and the comments of Dr. Paul Carus, editor of the Chicago periodical *The Open Court*. One important service rendered by the publication of these opinions is the revelation they afford the careful reader that in some vital matters Assyriologists themselves dispute Dr. Delitzsch's archæological conclusions. Note also Dr. Jeremias' use of the phrase "on the whole," in speaking of the archæological basis of Dr. Delitzsch's contention.

In these lectures, and in the debate which raged in Germany over them, the positions taken by the disputants on both sides are often surprisingly extreme. One is amazed at the display of crude thinking by men of great erudition. The distinction, for example, between revelation and inspiration seems to be unknown to Dr. Delitzsch. The development of doctrine, and any tolerance in Israel and by its teachers of conceptions and customs that fall below the gospel standard, are apparently thought to be incompatible with the divine inspiration of Israel's prophets. As a result, the relation which the facts discovered by antiquarian research bear to the doctrine of Holy Scripture is seen through a fog that distorts and obscures the vision. The reviewer is of the opinion that all the ascertained facts which Dr. Delitzsch has adduced are in harmony with the doctrine of Holy Scripture as taught by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

THE BIBLE AND BABYLON. A Brief Study in the History of Ancient Civilization. By EDUARD KOENIG, Doctor of Philosophy and The-

ology and Professor in Ordinary in the University of Bonn. Ninth Revised and Enlarged Edition, Containing a Critical Estimate of Delitzsch's Second Lecture upon "Babylon and the Bible." Translated from the German by CHARLES E. HAY, D.D., 1903. Burlington, Ia.: German Literary Board. 8vo, pp. 64.

The writings of Eduard Koenig on biblical subjects are always interesting and helpful. Ever and anon he surprises and delights his readers by his insight into the Scriptures, and by the simplicity and effectiveness of his argument drawn from the Bible. These traits are found in this little work in their customary attractiveness. And then again he disappoints by a failure to distinguish the essential from the unessential or by an overstatement or an unwarranted inference. On page 44 of the present book, for example, he concludes his argument with the words: "It is accordingly a *historical fact* that Monotheism did not originate either in Babylonia or in Southern Arabia." This conclusion does not follow from the premises; and it is hard on Noah and Abraham.

The province of Prof. Koenig in relation to the lectures by Dr. Delitzsch on "Babel and Bible" was to discuss them from the standpoint of Old Testament scholarship. The author, however, unwisely leaves his own field of work and, unequipped for the contest, enters the arena to meet the trained Assyriologist on his own ground. The greater part of his contention with Delitzsch, the Assyriologist, could be omitted with gain to the book in strength, leaving only the contention with Delitzsch in the arena of the Old Testament. The opportunity open to Dr. Koenig was to discern with the scholar's accuracy of vision and frankly to recognize such truth as is found in Dr. Delitzsch's contention, and to make his own work mainly and unmistakably a discussion of the relation between these facts and reasonable inferences on the one hand and the history of Israel and the teachings of the Old Testament on the other. He has not seized the opportunity fully.

The strength of the book lies in its giving due prominence and emphasis to facts which Dr. Delitzsch ignores altogether or unduly neglects.

IM KAMPFE UM BABEL UND BIBEL. Ein Wort zur Verständigung und Abwehr von DR. ALFRED JEREMIAS, Pfarrer der Lutherkirche zu Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903. 8vo, pp. 38. Price 50 Pfennig.

The author has but little to say regarding the lecture of Prof. Delitzsch on "Babel und Bibel." Speaking of the first address only—for one only had been given when he wrote—he gives his general estimate of that famous deliverance in these cautious words: "On the whole the address, so far as it treats of the monuments of western Asia, states the assured results of research." But "Delitzsch's religious attitude toward the Old Testament originates from a subjectivity that is doubtless extreme." "In theological questions he does not keep himself quite free from rationalism."

The main purpose of the author, who is an accomplished Assyrian scholar, is to exhibit the blunders committed in the sphere of Assyriology by certain Old Testament specialists who have left their own field of investigation in order to meet Assyriologists on their own ground. Accordingly on pages 5-15 he corrects particular mistakes in Assyriology made by Eduard König in his argument against the first lecture by Friedrich Delitzsch, and on pages 15-20 rectifies similar errors by Karl Budde in his criticism of the extravagant claims made for the ancient East over against religious Israel. On pages 20-24 Pastor Jeremias justifies his acceptance, and gives his interpretation, of the theory that the conception of the universe held in the ancient Orient formed the conventional scheme of historical writing; and on pages



25-35 he examines statements made by Eduard König regarding Babylonian civilization and proceeds to set Prof. König right. The writer is himself occasionally open to criticism, even in matters pertaining to the results of Assyriology; and his theories are not allowed to pass unchallenged by Prof. König, who replies to his critic in the pamphlet which we next notice.

**BABYLONISIERUNGSVERSUCHE BETREFFS DER PATRIARCHEN UND KÖNIGE ISRAELS.** Separatabdruck aus dem "Beweis des Glaubens," vermehrt durch ein Wort zur Abwehr. Von EDUARD KÖNIG. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmanu, 1903. 8vo, pp. 36.

To the criticisms of Alfred Jeremias in *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel* Prof. König replies on pages 1-14 and 30-36. On neither side is the debate invariably conducted on the highest plane of courtesy and scholarship.

The main portion of the brochure is devoted to the recent attempt of Dr. H. Winckler to resolve the patriarchs and early kings of Israel into mythological figures, in accordance with the theory that the mythological conception of the universe dominated the early historians. As already mentioned, a form of this theory has been adopted by Dr. A. Jeremias. Prof. König has, perhaps, given more attention to Dr. Winckler's theory than it deserves, but his discussion made a readable magazine article, and it is entirely satisfactory as an answer to Dr. Winckler's argument.

**ISRAEL UND BABYLONIEN.** Der Einfluss Babylonien auf die Israelitische Religion. Von DR. HERMANN GUNKEL, a. o. Prof. der alttestamentl. Theologie zu Berlin. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903. 8vo, pp. 48. Price 1.20 Mark.

Prof. Gunkel has also taken a part in the debate over Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch's lectures on "Babel und Bibel." He does not rate their value high. If Dr. Delitzsch had called in the aid of a competent Old Testament scholar, "much in the first lecture would have assumed a different form, and the second would not have been delivered at all: both results to the advantage of the cause and certainly also to the advantage of Delitzsch!"

Prof. Gunkel expresses the belief that his colleague's attitude towards the Old Testament is the natural recoil from the teaching and training of his youth.

After much persuasion, as he says, the author has felt in duty bound to lend his aid towards removing the confusion of thought that prevails regarding the matters under discussion. Accordingly he undertakes to explain the influence of Babylonia on the civilization and religion of Israel in particular points, exhibiting and correlating it to his own well-known system, thus: Legends and myths have come to Israel in oral tradition and been transmuted from slag to gold. As for monotheism, regarded as an influence in the world, it arose in Israel and in the truest sense is native and autochthonous in Israel. And as regards revelation, it is not supernatural; yet it is divine, God revealing Himself in human history.

Foreigners who have at any time experienced difficulty in the use of the German article may be soothed by this comment: "Delitzsch spricht . . . mehrere Male von dem Scheol; das Wort is femininum."

**KEILINSCHRIFTEN UND BIBEL** nach ihrem religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang. Ein Leitfaden zur Orientirung im sog. Babel-Bibel-Streit. Mit Einbeziehung auch der neutestamentlichen Probleme. Von HEINRICH ZIMMERN, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Mit neun Abbildungen. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1903. 8vo, pp. 54. Price, one Mark.

This brochure is intended to serve persons uninstructed in Assyriology as a guide amid the perplexities and confusion of mind created by the conflict-



ing statements made by the disputants in the "Babel and Bible" debate. The book aims to point out the facts that are established by the ancient records and to distinguish these facts from surmises. The author wrote with the purpose also of mentioning yet other important matters besides those touched upon by Dr. Delitzsch, which concern vital questions in New Testament theology. The contents of the book consist, naturally, quite largely of the material which formed the writer's contribution to the third edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, and to which the reader is constantly referred for fuller discussions of the topics.

Prof. Zimmern is, like Dr. Delitzsch, a prominent and competent Assyriologist. Of those who have taken active part in the debate aroused by Dr. Delitzsch, none ranks higher as an Assyrian scholar. In his attitude toward the Bible, and in his theories regarding the origin of the biblical narratives and the formative forces in the religion of Israel, he is essentially one with Prof. Gunkel, his friend, with whom he discussed the views afterwards put forth by the latter in *Schöpfung und Chaos*. He brings these theories with him as he enters into the debate about "Babel and Bible," and solely from this point of view he treats and exhibits the relation between the Bible and Babylon.

As in the lectures by Dr. Delitzsch, so in the presentation of the present subject almost everything in Israel must root itself in Babylonia. For example, the twelve gates in the new Jerusalem which Ezekiel describes, and in the heavenly Jerusalem portrayed by John in the book of the Revelation, and the twelve angels at the pearly gates, are said to owe their origin to the fact that the Babylonians divided the zodiac into twelve parts (pp. 22, 48). So likewise in an earlier publication Prof. Zimmern explains the twelve sons of Jacob. Unquestionably much came to Israel from Babylonia; and the teaching of the older orthodoxy is not in conflict with this fact. But the habit of tracing everything, by hook or crook, back to Babylonia is a mental disease whose pathological symptoms are familiar. The few things which the writer does not derive from Babylonian mythology, as, for example, the fire of hell, the distinction between the righteous and the wicked in the world to come and the resurrection (p. 51), are perhaps equally significant.

In accordance with his announced plan, the author suggests twelve points in which he believes that Babylonian mythology may, perhaps, be related to Christology. They are the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. His scheme, being the suggestion of what he regards as unproven yet possible relations, is stronger in general outline than when the hypothetical Assyrian counterparts are stated, and especially when it becomes manifest that the various features, which are presented as similar to the portrait of Jesus drawn by the Evangelists, are not combined in any single mythological being.

The theories which touch the Hebrew record for the times before Abraham have for the most part been discussed by the present reviewer in *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*; and the theory of Prof. Gunkel, which Prof. Zimmern accepts, regarding the pervasiveness of the Tiamat myth in the Old and New Testaments, has been examined by him in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for 1895, pp. 745-753.

DIE GESETZE HAMMURABIS, KÖNIGS VON BABYLON UM 2250 V. CHR.  
Das älteste Gesetzbuch der Welt. Uebersetzt von DR. HUGO WINCKLER. Mit einer Abbildung. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902. 8vo, pp. 42.

This fascicle constitutes part four of the fourth volume of *Der Alte Orient*. It contains a new tentative translation of the celebrated codex

of Hammurabi, of which the text and version were first published by the French Assyriologist Victor Scheil. The author confines himself almost exclusively to making a version. He adds a few explanatory remarks in footnotes, but refrains from accompanying the translation with a philological commentary.

MOSES UND HAMMURABI VON DR. JOHANNES JEREMIAS, Pfarrer in Gottleuba, Sachsen. Mit einer Abbildung. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903. 8vo, pp. 47. Price 70 Pfennig. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (4. und 5. Tausend). 8vo, pp. 64. Price one Mark.

As the title sufficiently indicates, the author, who is a brother of Dr. Alfred Jeremias, institutes a comparison between the laws of Hammurabi and those of Moses. After describing certain classes of legislation found in this ancient Babylonian codex, Dr. Jeremias enumerates its analogies with the laws of Israel and finds that "not less than twenty-four regulations [out of two hundred and eighty-two] present exact or tolerably exact analogies" to the enactments codified in the Book of the Covenant. The comparison reveals the superiority of the Mosaic legislation to the laws of Hammurabi as respects ethics in three points: The law of Moses "set itself against the desire, as well as against the overt act (Ex. xx. 17); it was against inordinate self-seeking; it erects the postulate of love for one's neighbor, even though that neighbor be a stranger (xxiii. 24)." The profound religion of the Torah is disclosed by its acquaintance with the sense of guilt, which is not evident in Hammurabi's laws. Thus God is in the law of Israel, and civil life becomes invested with religious character. The author might properly have added a word at this point and mentioned the unique superiority of the Ten Commandments in their implications concerning the unity, spirituality and holiness of God.

The second edition is larger than the first by seventeen pages. The increase is partly accounted for by the introduction of a brief chapter on the parallels between the Talmud and Hammurabi's laws; but the increase is due to a greater extent to the fuller treatment accorded to the discussion of the illumination of the Pentateuch by the codex of Hammurabi. The new matter is in part criticism of a review of the first edition and in part a critique of Grimme's theories. This discussion is quite in place. It treats the question of the influence of the codex of Hammurabi on the laws of Israel, especially those in the Book of the Covenant, and tends to make clear the true historical relation between the two collections of laws.

In the first edition the legal regulations are arranged in the order of the Hebrew code; in the second edition the laws are grouped topically according to resemblances. In working over this material the author has properly withdrawn his parallels with Ex. xxi. 16, 37; xxiii. 8: but he finds five additional correspondences in the codex of Hammurabi, namely, with Ex. xxi. 13, 23-25; xxii. 13, 16 b; xxiii. 1, among which is included the important *lex talionis*, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth": so that the analogies which he believes or has proven to exist are raised in number from twenty-four to twenty-six.

IIÖLLE UND PARADIES BEI DEN BABYLONIERN. VON DR. ALFRED JEREMIAS, Pfarrer der Lutherkirche zu Leipzig. Zweite verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage mit 10 Abbildungen. 3-7 Tausend. Unter Berücksichtigung der biblischen Parallelen und mit Verzeichniss der Bibelstellen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903. 8vo, pp. 44. Price 60 Pfennig.

This treatise, which now appears in revised edition, forms the third part

of the first volume of *Der alte Orient*. Its title is ill-chosen, for it is not broad enough to include all of the matters treated in the essay; such as the attitude of the Babylonian toward death, the disposal of the corpse, mourning for the departed, exorcism of the dead.

In twoscore pages the author, who is already favorably known for his study of the Babylonian conception of the life beyond, has collected and classified the references to this and related matters in the accessible Babylonian and Assyrian literature, and presented an orderly exhibition of the thoughts concerning the dead that were current among the peoples on the lower Tigris. The picture is, of course, incomplete; for only scraps of information are available for its construction, but it shows, as already known, that in the mode of conceiving and speaking of the place and state of the dead there was much in common between the Babylonians and early Israelites. Dr. Jeremias states an important truth when he says: "It was left to the popular fancy to meditate on a life after death, and apparently the extant fragments of mythological literature reproduce these popular conceptions." This fact is often overlooked, and poetic imagery and the drapery of a story have been regarded as current doctrine.

A word of warning. The Egyptian conception of the future life is not considered by the author in this little book. The consideration of Egyptian doctrine lay outside his purpose. But all the same he incurs the danger of creating a false impression; for the Hebrews held intimate intercourse with the Egyptians during long periods of their history, and the Hebrews found much in Egyptian doctrine to reinforce and emphasize truths which they had inherited from their Babylonian ancestors, and thus rendered prominent and influential what was best in that inheritance. The attempt has sometimes been made to trace the development of Hebrew teaching regarding the future life with allusion to Babylonian thought, but without reference to Egyptian doctrine. Such attempts are one sided and must end in disaster.

**A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF THE ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE** (Assyrian-English-German). By W. MUSS-ARNOLD. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Lemcke & Büchner. Part 13. 1903. Pp. 769 to 832. \$1.25.

Parts 9 to 12 of this valuable work were noticed in the January number of this REVIEW, page 126. The present installment of sixty-four pages brings the definitions down in alphabetical order from *simetu* to *parasu*. The publication was begun in 1895, and since 1896 the parts have been appearing at the rate of one every eleven months. About four more parts will complete this arduous undertaking.

**AUSGEWÄHLTE BABYLONISCH-ASSYRISCHE BRIEFE** Transscribiert und Uebersetzt. Inaugural-dissertation zur Erlangung des Doctorgrades der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig vorgelegt von CORNELIS VAN GELDEREN. Leipzig: August Pries, 1902. 8vo, pp. 48.

This dissertation was first published in the fourth volume of *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, pp. 501-545. It is now printed separately, and furnished with a title-page and a sketch of the author's academic career, in order to conform to the laws of the German universities. Dr. van Gelderen gives the transliteration and translation of twenty-one Assyrian letters, together with a philological commentary.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

**DIE EVANGELIEN EINES ALTEN UNZIALCODEX (B 8-TEXT)**, von ALFRED SCHMIDTKE. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903, S. XL, 116.

The manuscript whose text Schmidtke has edited is the codex Paris



Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 97. It is cited by Gregory as 579 (*Textkritik*, I, S. 205); by von Soden as ε 376 (*Die Schriften d. n. Test.*, I, 1, S. 179), and contains the four Gospels except Mark iii. 28-iv. 8; John xx. 15-xxi. 25. Written in the thirteenth century, the codex owes its existence most probably to a certain abbess named Olympia, in memory of whom the exemplar, which this copy has preserved with extreme faithfulness in Mark, Luke and John, is called by Schmidtke Ol. The character of Ol gives to this late manuscript high value for the textual criticism of the New Testament (J. P. P. Martin, *Description technique*, pp. 91-94, *Introduction*, II, pp. 167-170; Bousset, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1901, Sp. 549; *Ibid.*, 1903, Sp. 565). The almost slavish reproduction by dictation from an uncial exemplar which was with difficulty read not only increases our means for ascertaining the content of Ol, but throws light on its age. The letters, confused in some instances, point to an early formation. The MS. had, however, two exemplars; a late cursive MS. which the scribe used in Matthew and in Mark vi. 16-28 to supply a lacuna caused most probably by the loss of a page from Ol, and Ol.

Schmidtke assigns Ol to the fifth century and to Egypt. Its text is found to be most closely allied with that of B  $\aleph$  CL  $\Delta$   $\psi$  33, 892. Signs of later correction in the interest of the  $\delta$ -text (W. & H.'s Syrian) as well as influence from the  $\beta$ -text (W. & H.'s Western) appear in it. In attempting to determine the origin of the archetype of Ol and its group-companions Schmidtke follows Bousset (*Texte u. Unters.*, XI, 4, S. 74-110) and fixes upon the recension of Hesychius, made in Egypt about the year 300. The group Ol. B  $\aleph$  CL, etc., goes back indeed to a common source, but not, as Wescott and Hort suppose, to a source called the Neutral text and thought by them to have preserved the Gospel text in its purest form; but to a critical ecclesiastical revision made in Egypt by Hesychius. The text-tradition which this group preserves is thus a local tradition which may be transcended only by attestation from some other line (Bousset, S. 101). It does not follow, however, as Bousset admits, that because this group represents a recension of the New Testament text it must be inferior to a type of text, the  $\beta$ -text for example, which has not this characteristic (Bousset, S. 95f.). For in making such a recension Hesychius may have had access to good and early manuscripts, certainly earlier than those which we possess. In any event the quality of the text cannot be determined apart from considerations of internal evidence, which is an essential element in Dr. Hort's construction of the history of the text.

Beside collecting the data which show the close relation of the text of Ol with that of B  $\aleph$ , etc., Schmidtke calls attention to the division into sections common to Ol B and  $\Xi$ , and by a study of them reaches the interesting conclusion that they have preserved the work of Ammonius. These divisions were taken over from Ammonius by Hesychius, who has, however, added others of his own, thus preserving the Gospel material intact which Ammonius had partially sacrificed in the interest of his harmony. Finally, Schmidtke reconstructs the line-length of Ol as in general sixteen letters, agreeing in this respect also with B. In fact, the connection of Ol with B is regarded as so close as to justify the conclusion that a near predecessor of B was identical with an ancestor of Ol.

Following the introduction, Schmidtke gives the text of the Gospels from this manuscript after having removed its transcriptional errors.

Princeton.

W. P. ARMSTRONG.



The Temple Bible. ACTS AND PASTORAL EPISTLES: TIMOTHY, TITUS; AND PHILEMON. Edited by B. B. WARFIELD, D.D. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 32mo, pp. xlviii, 144.

This is one volume of the "Temple Bible" which, under the editorial care of Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, is published by J. M. Dent & Co. in the dainty form for which that house has grown famous. The present writer is responsible only for the "Introduction" (pp. i-xlviii); in it he has tried to set forth in a form suitable to the English reader the salient literary facts concerning the Acts, the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to Philemon. He did, indeed, prepare also the very brief series of "Notes" (pp. 123-130); but by some accident he missed seeing the proofs of this portion of his work and he would not like to be held responsible for the form in which they appear. For the rest of the volume he has no responsibility whatever, and he thinks it worth while to emphasize this, inasmuch as in the "Synchronism of Ancient History" (given on pp. 132-139), a scheme for dating the New Testament books is set down which runs athwart the dates suggested in the "Introduction." He cannot help accounting it an infelicity that the title-page bears only his name as "Editor," whereas he is in no sense the "Editor" of the volume and is responsible for only a portion of its contents.

Princeton.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

SACRED SITES OF THE GOSPELS. With Illustrations, Maps and Plans. By W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. With the Assistance of PAUL WATERHOUSE, M.A., F.R.I.B.A. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, [and New York] 1903. 8vo; pp. xii, 126. \$4.50 net.

This book is the result, partly, of a visit made by the author to Palestine in the spring of 1902. In the preface he properly calls it a "little book"; for, although the publishers have made it a good-sized, handsome octavo, it contains only 126 pages of printed matter, including a good index. Its title is somewhat too broad, since it discusses relatively few of the "Sacred Sites of the Gospels." These few, however, are crucial ones. Dr. Sanday gives two "excuses" to account for the existence of the book. He wishes to lighten a forthcoming "Life of our Lord" of a certain amount of topographical matter. The second and more weighty excuse consists in the fact that his duties "have given him some experience in the study of literary texts." It might, perhaps, be allowed to go without saying that the more nearly we can determine precisely what the Gospels say about the sacred sites, the better prepared we shall be to enter upon any discussion as to these sites.

In the first chapter the author tells how we may restore, in our minds, the external aspect of Palestine in the time of Christ. This is to be done by *subtracting the Saracen*, then by removing all traces of the Crusaders; next we must *raise the Jew*, i.e., the Jew as we see him there to-day, and, finally, we must add to the product thus obtained a certain quantum of *Græco-Roman civilization*. This process will give us pretty nearly what we are seeking, aside, of course, from a careful study of the Gospel narrative and from such work as is done by the spades of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The second and third chapters constitute the substance of the book, treating of the sites outside of Jerusalem and in Jerusalem respectively, and following the two well-known canons—the persistence of ancient names and tradition. Dr. Sanday finds the former to rule more largely without and the latter within the Sacred City. As to the Gospel towns, he generally adopts the commonly accepted identifications, such as Nazareth, Bethlehem, Cana.

Nain, Chorazin, Bethany, etc. It is somewhat odd, however, to read in the text that "Cana is either *Kefr Kenna* or *Kânet el-Jelil*," and then in a footnote that "the most probable site is neither of these, but *'Ain Kânnâ*, rather nearer to Nazareth than *Kefr Kenna*." Dr. Sanday does not think much of the suggestion of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* that the Bethlehem of the nativity was in Galilee, although he does think that there would be "real advantages" if it were near to Nazareth, while believing and stating that this would belie our Gospels.

Within the narrow limits of this volume there could not be a detailed discussion of many disputed sites, yet there is a rather full treatment of some of these. The Gergesa of Matthew and Gadara of Mark is placed at Kersa. Emmaus is the modern Kôloniyeh, which is pointed out to travelers who approach Jerusalem by the Jaffa road. Khân Minyeh is decidedly favored as the site of Capernaum, as against Tell Hûm, although no absolute decision is reached.\* The ruins at Tell Hûm will always prove a hindrance to the acceptance of this view. Authorities have divided on it almost equally from Robinson, who accepted Khân Minyeh, to Guthe, who prefers Tell Hûm. The most interesting discussion of Dr. Sanday's book deals with this question.

The third chapter deals with sites in Jerusalem—not strictly, for it treats of Calvary and the sepulchre, without the ancient city, and of the cenaculum, which is without the modern city. In summing up at the close of this chapter the author feels uncertain as to Bethesda, although he rejects the traditional pool and Schick's more likely discovery. He is fairly confident that our Lord's trial before Pilate took place at Herod's palace by the Jaffa Gate. He inclines to the traditional site of both Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, *unless* it can be definitely proved that the second wall included these in the city, naturally. This essential point is not discussed. The one of "the most sacred sites" that comes nearest to his unqualified acceptance is the traditional one of the Cenaculum or Upper Room, without the western end of the southern wall of the present city. He follows most modern scholars in regarding Zion as the southern ridge of the hill on which the Temple stood.

The fourth chapter notices some recent works on the subject treated in his lectures. It is somewhat amusing to find the author of "She" and "King Solomon's Mines" receiving a special tribute in this connection, yet it must be said that the main reason for this seems to be that "he shows a laudable caution in pronouncing on the identification of localities." Dr. Sanday exhibits the same trait.

Mr. Waterhouse contributes an interesting essay on Herod's Temple, with a plan of the same and of the city of Herod's time as seen from the north-east. There are fifty-five beautiful plates and several maps, which add much to the value of the book. As the author, in the preface, describes his work as a *παρεργον*, it is evidently not intended to be a serious contribution to the topography of the Gospels.

Princeton.

JOSEPH H. DULLES.

\* In the October, 1903, *Journal of Theological Studies*, Dr. Sanday transfers his vote to Tell Hûm.—J. H. D.

## IV.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

DIE RELIGION DES JUDENTUMS IM NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN ZEITALTER, von D. WILHELM BOUSSET, a. o. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Göttingen. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard, 1903. Svo, pp. xiv, 512. Mk. 10.

A book of the kind here offered by Prof. Bousset has long been a desideratum. During the last two decades New Testament Science, especially New Testament Theology, has increasingly drawn the religion of Judaism within its field of investigation. One may regret that too often this has been done with the avowed purpose of facilitating the naturalistic interpretation of the growth of New Testament truth on the principle of an evolution from its Judaistic environment. But, whatever the motive, the results brought to light are so important for a correct understanding of the milieu into which Christianity was born, that no New Testament scholar of the present day can afford to ignore them. *A priori* there can be no objection to the view that Christianity was to a greater or lesser degree influenced on the side of its production of truth by its Judaistic surroundings. The relation between the two surely cannot have been one of pure antagonism at every point. Judaism carried within itself a rich heritage received from Old Testament revelation. It is impossible to believe that this body of revealed truth affected Christian doctrine only as a literary deposit in the Old Testament Scriptures, and not at all through the medium of the contemporary living consciousness. After all, though the influence came through the channel of Judaism, it was an influence indirectly created by the Old Testament itself. And we can go further than this. It may in some points be admitted that Judaism influenced Christianity, even where the former went beyond the Old Testament in its teaching. Notwithstanding all its defects and excrescences and, worse than this, the wrong spirit which dominated it as its centre, Judaism, doctrinally considered, must be classified as to a large extent a theological elaboration of Old Testament principles. As such it could hardly help developing in the right direction certain lines of truth and thus furnish elements of teaching fit for incorporation into the New Testament. There is enough truth in Judaism to justify the affirmation that it is a religious phenomenon conceivable only on the basis of Old Testament revelation.

The literature of Judaism in the New Testament times, fragmentary though it be, constitutes a body of respectable size which it is not given to everybody to study and master at first hand, even now that the sources have been made more easily accessible. Hence the need of competent guidance. The work of Gfrörer (*Das Jahrhundert des Heils*), published more than sixty years ago, meritorious for its time and still useful in parts, has as a whole been antiquated by the recent increase of documentary material. The same applies to Hilgenfeld's volume on Jewish Apocalypics, which, besides, confines itself to one branch of the subject. On the other hand Schürer discusses the religion of Judaism only as a subdivision of his more comprehensive treatment of Jewish life in the New Testament period in all its cultural aspects. Weber's work on the theology of the Synagogue takes too little account of the questions of antiquity and development in regard to the mass of doctrinal speculation embodied in the later Jewish writings. A separate discussion of this particular period of the religious history of Judaism from a distinctly historical point of view was certainly called for.

Bousset is well qualified for the task here undertaken. His previous work on the Apocalypse in the Meyer series of commentaries, as well as his study of the idea of the Antichrist, deal with subjects that lie close to the general



problem of Jewish religion. Recent publications in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Neutest. Wissenschaft* and elsewhere prove how thorough has been the author's study of the literary documents on which the present volume is built. That the broader historical question of the relation of Judaism to Christianity has also long been a subject of intense interest to the writer, we may infer from his treatise entitled *The Preaching of Jesus in its Contrast to Judaism*, published about a decade ago. The present book does not profess to deal with the religion of Judaism from the point of view of a comparison either with the Old Testament that went before or the New Testament that came after. Indeed the author finds one of the reasons for the inadequacy of previous work done in this field to be precisely this comparative spirit with which the subject has been approached. Hence he endeavors to interpret and judge of Judaism with no other categories than those of the general science of religion in mind. On the one hand this is apt to cause disappointment to the average reader, who will undoubtedly peruse the book with the comparative question uppermost in his mind. On the other hand it may be suggested that the restraint observed in this respect has in one sense enhanced the value of the work. In every comparison undertaken the nature of the judgments expressed will depend wholly on the dogmatic attitude of the writer toward the fundamental questions under debate in Old Testament and New Testament science. With reference to these issues Bousset's standpoint is such that his conclusions would have but little convincing force for many conservative readers who otherwise may find his book highly useful.

From the title of the last treatise above named it will be seen, that at the time of its writing the author himself conceived of the relation between Judaism and Christianity as mainly one of antithesis. The treatise served as a protest against the rising tendency represented by Baldensperger and others to look upon Judaism as largely contributory toward the origin of Christianity, indeed as explanatory of the latter in some of its most vital principles. In an interesting remark on page 52 of the present work Bousset confesses that in this former polemic against Baldensperger's onesidedness, he himself fell into the opposite extreme of emphasizing too exclusively the contrast between the Jewish and Christian types of piety. Evidently the author's judgment of the religious value of Judaism has become in the course of time a milder one. In a recent review of Harnack's famous lectures on the Essence of Christianity Bousset even comes to the defense of the younger school, who for the solution of the problem of the origin of Christianity expect great things from the exploration of Judaism, and takes Harnack to task for having spoken rather deprecatingly of this line of study. With this accords that in a number of instances in the work before us the value of Judaism as a positive preparation for Christianity is recognized. And yet on the whole a careful perusal of the book leaves the impression that this positively preparatory influence is sought rather on the formal side, in the sphere of organization, than in the centre of the religious consciousness as fixed by the conception of God and the ideal of religious approach unto God. Notwithstanding the confessed modification of his position, Bousset can hardly be called even on the present showing a very enthusiastic advocate of the hypothesis that Judaism is the mother of Christianity.

The book is divided into six sections entitled respectively: The Sources, The Development of Jewish Piety into the Church-Form, The National Determination of the Jewish Religion, The Individual Faith and Theology, Side-Forms of Jewish Piety, The Problem from the Point of View of the History of Religion. The first of these sections gives a rich and succinct statement of the present status of critical opinion concerning the literary



production of the later Judaism. The inclusion of considerable parts of the Old Testament Canon—Daniel, Esther, Zechariah ix-xiv, Ecclesiastes, a number of Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles—within the late period dealt with, *i.e.*, within the Maccabean age, shows how the controversy about the dependence of New Testament truth on the Old Testament, or on Judaism, to a certain extent loses its meaning from a standpoint like that assumed by the author. On this standpoint Judaism made its contribution to and left its impress upon the Old Testament. Of special points we note the following: Schnapp's view about the Jewish base of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs is adopted (cfr. Bousset's article in the *Z. f. N. W.*, in which he endeavors by a comparison of the versions and manuscripts to prove it the Christian redaction of an original Jewish document). With Willrich the author questions the authenticity of the official documents contained in I Maccabees, although he does not follow Willrich in the latter's view about the late date of their collection. The well-known collection of spurious Greek verses attributed to the great Greek poets is dated, from the Herodian period (not after 70 A.D.), whereas Schürer places them as early as 300 B.C., Elter as late as 100-200 A.D. A similar difference of critical opinion prevails with regard to the Epistle of Aristee which Schürer would assign to 200 B.C., Bousset, following Willrich and Wendland, to the time of the Herods. Against Niese the inferiority of II Maccabees as a historical witness for the period it deals with to I Maccabees is maintained. A luminous survey of Philo's literary activity is given and the genuineness of the treatise *De Vita Contemplativa* upheld. Of the literature of the period after the destruction of Jerusalem, IV Ezra is assigned to the reign of Domitian and the priority of this apocalypse to that of Baruch argued against Schürer, Wellhausen and Ryssel, who make IV Ezra dependent on Baruch.

The second section describes the development of Jewish Piety into the Church-Form. In this Bousset finds the most characteristic feature of the entire religious history of Judaism and he makes it control the whole subsequent discussion of such important topics as the Law, the Canon, Tradition, Theology, the Church and the Laity, the Pious, Confession, Dogma and Faith, the Synagogue as an Institute of Salvation,—which topics represent the nine chapters into which this section of the book is divided. The author justifies his appropriation of this as a feature specifically proper to Maccabean and post-Maccabean Judaism by observing that only through the Maccabean uprising were the conditions created under which the Jewish religion could and did transcend the boundaries of the nation and become a missionary force. In accordance with this he is concerned to show that the Diaspora did not attain any considerable dimensions until this period. We confess to not having been quite convinced by the data quoted, that the wide extension and increase of the Diaspora stand in causal connection with the Maccabean events. In our opinion the causes for this remarkable phenomenon lie deeper and date farther back than the middle of the second century, and they continued to operate after the Maccabean impulse had long worked itself out. On the whole the author's determination to make a sharp division between what precedes and follows the Maccabean crisis seems scarcely justified by the facts. Most of the forces which contributed toward the "churchification" of the Jewish religion, or were exponential of this process, have their roots in the earlier period. Broadly speaking the ultimate source of the separability of nationalism and religion and of their actual separation at least in part when called for by the historical circumstances, lay in the subordination of Israel's national life to its religion, in what we call the theocratic character of the Old Testament religion. Where religion is a part of the national life it must needs perish with the latter

Where the national life is a part of religion the latter may continue to exist as a church even when the former disappears. In our view this theocratic character of Israel's constitution is as old as the age of Moses. But, if this should appear too antiquated a position, it certainly can be dated back by common consent of all Old Testament scholars to the time of the restoration after the exile. When Bousset ventures to express doubt with regard to the historical character of the figure of Ezra and intimates that this figure may be no more than a personification of later tendencies, we can only characterize this as a piece of extreme scepticism.

Undoubtedly the treatment of the great religious forces and institutions of Judaism as factors in a process of church-making is a fruitful one and tends to introduce light and order into a multitude of bewildering and frequently discordant phenomena. Especially interesting is the manner in which the development of the idea of faith on its cognitive side and the beginning of creed-formation can be traced in their dependence upon the denationalization of the Jewish religion. Among the many other things luminously treated and worthy of special attention in this second part of the book, we mention only the characterization of the defects of Jewish legalism (pp. 112-118), and the high estimate justly placed upon the religion of the synagogue as a first embodiment of the idea of a spiritual worship divested of all external ceremonial and essentially democratic in spirit. The closing words of the paragraph referring to this deserve quoting: "Whatever judgment may be passed upon the Jewish religion, it will have to be admitted that on this side it exhibits intense power, profound seriousness and extraordinary ability to sway the masses and pervade their common-day life. The Jewish Church created an atmosphere of religion for the people, from the influence of which it was not easy for any one wholly to escape. It developed permanent forms of religious life which have endured until the present day" (p. 161).

The third section brings the reverse side of the picture drawn in the preceding. Judaism bore a contradiction within itself. On the way toward denationalization and development into the pure church-form, it could not arrive at the goal because it did not succeed in emancipating itself from the principle of nationalism. It is important to observe that for Bousset this inward nationalistic determination of the religion of Judaism coincides with and finds its expression in its Messianic hope. According to Baldensperger, it will be remembered, this was precisely the lever by which Judaism began to raise itself above its legalistic limitations. Baldensperger assumes between the Jewish nomism and the Jewish Messianism a relation of polarity. In the Messianic apocalyptic expectations the religious consciousness sought an escape from the weariness of the law-service, and through the transcendental form which the development of Apocalyptics assumed the whole eschatological hope was lifted to a higher level, and received a spiritual character which made it the precursor of Christianity. With reference to the former point Bousset reminds us that it would be wrong to construe any sort of antithesis in principle between the legal and eschatological types of piety. The Messianic spirit as such was intensely national and closely wedded to legalism. What was expected from the future and associated with the name of the kingdom was the reign of the people of the law over other nations. If the leaders of Pharisaism were not prominent in the cultivation of the Messianic theology, it was because they were too much pre-occupied with the cult of the Torah, not because there was anything in the former inconsistent with or unsympathetic to their own legalistic standpoint. With reference to the other point Baldensperger and Bousset are not so far apart. For the latter himself admits that there is in the Jewish apocalyptic an entirely different current which brings to the surface not the contrast

between the rule of the nations and of Israel, but the much grander and broader and more specifically religious and spiritual contrast between the present and the future æon, in connection with which such valuable ideas as that of the universal individual judgment and the universal resurrection and a wholly transformed life spring up. To be sure, these higher ideas, in which the tendency of Judaism toward Universalism finds its eschatological expression, do not succeed in disentangling themselves from the lower mass of common Messianic expectations. In this as in other respects Judaism remains at contradiction with itself. The older and the newer forms of belief notwithstanding their heterogeneity continue to flourish side by side and appear inextricably mixed. The best that Judaism proved able to do with them was to join them after a purely mechanical fashion, on the principle that first the old Messianic hope should be realized in a provisional intermediate kingdom, and after the close of this the later apocalyptic expectations should find their fulfillment in a cosmical crisis and a resultant life under totally new conditions. And yet even so an important difference remains between Baldensperger and Bousset. For according to the former this higher type of eschatology was the product of an immanent development of the older Messianic hope itself. Bousset, as we shall presently see, believes that outside influence was here at work. For our part we would side with Baldensperger, so far as the explanation of this grander apocalyptic from purely internal sources is concerned. Over against both, however, it should not be forgotten that while the New Testament undoubtedly received from and shared with Judaism this transcendental cosmical setting of its eschatology, it did far more than simply copy it. Even these noble forms needed to have a new spirit poured into them before they could become the adequate expression of the final truth of revelation. Not only, as Bousset well brings out, are the two types of eschatological hope equally prominent in the consciousness of Judaism, we must add that even the highest type is vitiated by the fundamental fault of the Jewish religion, its self-centred character.

In connection with the discussion of the apocalyptic ideas special interest attaches to the author's attitude toward the problem of the Son of Man. Bousset's position here is commendably conservative, so far as the recent hypothesis of a Græco-Christian origin of the phrase as a Messianic title is concerned. Over against the linguistic objection that in Aramaic no distinction could have been made between simply "Man" and "Son of Man," it is pertinently observed that, even if this be granted, the use of the word for simple man as a Messianic title does not lie beyond the range of possibility, since close analogies exist for such a procedure in Jewish theological terminology, *e g.*, when God is called "the Place." It is also rightly insisted upon that the Similitudes of Enoch, though in them the article should have no other force than that of a pronoun pointing back to the first introduction of the man-like figure, at least show how easily a formal title might originate from such repeated reference to the personage whose man-like character had been emphasized. On the other hand Bousset is not willing to find the main source of the conception in what he calls a misinterpretation of the famous passage in Daniel. He thinks it incredible that so important and influential an idea as that of the heavenly preëxistent Messiah should have arisen simply out of a mistaken exegesis of an isolated statement. The author of the Similitudes knows much more about this "Son of Man" than can possibly have been inferred by him from Daniel. And Daniel himself seems to have artificially employed an antecedently existing figure of a mysterious "Son of Man" as a symbolic designation for the people of Israel. This mysterious figure which existed before Daniel, Bousset is inclined to identify with the



Oriental idea of the heavenly "Ur-Mensch." To us this seems a very precarious hypothesis. If the figure of the coming with or upon the clouds and the rôle played by it in the judgment do not fit the people of Israel, then, instead of assuming that it was copied from some foreign conception of an Ur-Mensch, we should rather revise our exegesis and conclude that it was never intended as a designation for the people, except perhaps in so far as the heavenly preëxistent Son of Man, whom it does designate, is the representative head of the people. This is a far simpler solution than the assumption that Daniel "artificially" employed a term which elsewhere denoted a person as a name for Israel. Finally we observe that, although acknowledging the antiquity of the title and protesting against the hypothesis of its late Greek origin, Bousset feels far from sure that Jesus used it as a self-designation in the manner and to the extent assumed in the Gospels. He believes that in numerous synoptical passages the title was subsequently introduced.

The fourth section deals with the Individual Faith and the theology of the period and is, with its thorough discussion of the whole range of the religious belief of Judaism, easily the most interesting and most instructive part of the volume for the purpose of comparison with the New Testament teaching. This will appear from the following list of the topics treated: Individualism, the Conception of God, Angelology, Dualism and Dæmonology, Speculation About the Hypostases, The Relation of the Pious to God, Anthropology, Ethics. Here, as might be naturally expected, the author's own theological standpoint most readily asserts itself in the judgments passed upon the religious value of the development reviewed. The point on which we would be inclined to dissent most vigorously concerns the low estimate placed upon the idea of the divine *δικαιοσύνη* as occupying the centre of the Jewish religious consciousness. The way in which the author compares this forensic conception of righteousness with that one phase of the Old Testament idea in which it is equivalent to the grace and faithfulness of God, already shows that we here have to do with a onesided accentuation of the love of God at the expense of His justice. Hence also the remark on a previous page that even with Jesus, and especially with Paul, can be found traces of the legalistic tendency for which this forensic *δικαιοσύνη* supplied the background. It cannot in our opinion be sufficiently reiterated that not the forensic principle of Judaism in itself was wrong and irreligious, but only the self-righteous, man-centred spirit with which this principle was exploited. It was only the latter, not the former, which Jesus and Paul protested against. What else but this principle of forensic righteousness underlies the profound moral earnestness with which the Jewish conscience faces the thought of the judgment, to which Bousset himself elsewhere in our volume justly pays his tribute of admiration?

We pass by without extended comment the fifth chapter, dealing with the Side Forms of Jewish Piety, in which the significance of Philo as a joint product of Judaism and Hellenism is admirably set forth and also the complex status of the Essenic problem succinctly exhibited. In regard to the latter the author casts his opinion with those who find in the order a Jewish growth on the whole, though not excluding foreign influence in single features.

Our main interest centres upon the concluding chapter, devoted to Judaism as a problem from the point of view of the history of religion. Here the author faces the question how the characteristic features of the formation of a church religion, of the rise of a cosmical eschatology, of the intrusion of a strong dualistic element in the sphere of dæmonology, of the withdrawal of God from the world and the substitution of intermediate beings, finally of the awakening of a pronounced religious individualism can be explained.



Are all these developments direct offshoots of the religion of the prophets and psalmists or must an influx of manifold forces from the field of foreign religions be assumed to account for them? Bousset decides in favor of the latter hypothesis. The idea of the religious sterility of the Judaistic period when broached by the conservative side in Old Testament critical controversy used to be pronounced a mere dogmatic assertion: now we find it repeated from a totally different quarter in favor of the hypothesis of outside influence as the actual moving force in the religious development of this period. Side by side with the absence of creative power the inner disharmony of Judaism is believed to make its dependence on foreign influence plausible. Finally the general character of the times as a period of intermingling and fusion of ideas is appealed to.

When the question is put, which of the three religions that come under consideration here, the Assyro-Babylonian, the Hellenic or the Persian, played the foremost part in thus fructifying the later Jewish faith, Bousset's answer points to the last mentioned. In his opinion the view of Darmesteter, according to whom the speculations contained in Avesta, especially in the Gatha's, date from the first century of the Christian era and consequently point to a dependence of Parsism upon Judaism, is utterly untenable. The Greek witnesses down to Plutarch show that to the Persian religion belongs the priority not only in matters of Apocalypics and Eschatology, but also in the religious speculations about God and the divine hypostases. The point of contact for Parsism and Judaism was Babylonia. In general religious character as well as in concrete points of belief it is believed that a number of striking resemblances can be shown to exist. Still Bousset himself is willing to admit that all this does not necessarily carry us beyond the theory of a parallel development due in both quarters to identical causes without real interdependence. Also the question of deriving the forms of organization of the Jewish Church, such as the Synagogue and Canon, from Parsism, he declares for the present unsolvable owing to our ignorance with reference to the organization of the Persian religion during the period in question. Still further he would also exempt the specific province of the individual religion of the heart to which such peculiarities as the profound penitential spirit, the central place assigned to the forgiveness of sins, the legalistic tendency belong. But in matters belonging to the lower realm of popular superstition, in the province of ancient legendary lore attaching itself to primeval figures and events, such as the protoplasts, the flood, Seth, Enoch, Abraham, Nimrod, finally in the sphere of cosmogonical and cosmological speculation, as well as in that of the apocalyptic and the cognate dualistic ideas, an influence from the Orient upon Judaism is in Bousset's opinion not only possible but probable.

After reading the examples which the author quotes as in part at least "éclatant" demonstrations of the above thesis we must confess that they do not carry conviction to our mind. If there be scholars who doubt the connection between the Asmodæus of the Book of Tobit and the Persiau Aeshma Daeva, we do not see why other more general similarities should require any further explanation than that furnished by the theory of parallel development. That here and there real contact may have existed cannot of course be *à priori* denied. But that Judaism derived its religious signature in any comprehensive sense from Parsism we still feel compelled to regard as an unproven hypothesis. Bousset hardly attaches sufficient weight to the points of profound difference which Söderblom and others have shown to exist between the Jewish and Persian Apocalyptic, chief among which are the pessimistic character of the former in contrast with the optimism of the latter, and the absence of the idea of an Apokatastasis from the Jewish sys-

tem. Would it not be strange, also, if the comprehensive cosmical setting of the later Jewish faith, on which so much depends for the theological formulation of revealed truth in its final form, was independent of the sublime Monotheism of the Old Testament, was in fact the product of a religion so essentially dualistic as Parsism? The cosmic universalism and Monotheism seem to belong naturally together. Old Testament criticism in its construction of the prophetic theology has so accustomed us to the thought that the world-wide outlook of Israel's faith is the fruit of its ethical Monotheism, that those who adopt the conclusions of this criticism should least of all feel the need of seeking explanations from any foreign quarter. So long as we do not feel inclined to bring down all apocalyptic, universalistic prophecy to the post-exilic period, it will certainly remain probable that not to the Avesta but to the ancient inspired oracles of an Isaiah and Ezekiel and others of the prophets we have to look for the ultimate roots of the luxuriant aftergrowth of Judaistic religion, in which so much sublime truth and so much grotesque fancy intermingle.

Princeton.

GEORGIARDUS VOS.

DICTIONNAIRE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE CHRÉTIENNE ET DE LITURGIE, publié par le R. P. DOM FERNAND CHABROL, Bénédictin de Solesmes, prieur de Farnborough (Angleterre). Fascicule I. Paris, 1903, Letouzey et Ané, 17, rue du Vieux-Colombier, 4to. Each fascicule 5 fr. net.

If the first specimen fascicule of the *Dictionnaire* be an earnest of the whole, we are to have in it a production worthy of the order to which its editor belongs. The archæological portion is richer than the *Dictionnaire* of Martigny or the *Real-Encyklopädie* of Kraus, and the addition to its scope of a serious dictionary of liturgy gives it a competence much more far-reaching than that of the two earlier works, which, moreover, are already sadly out of date. The magnitude of the undertaking does not seem to have affected the care with which the articles are prepared. They show detail, wealth of material and in general sound criticism. The completeness of the bibliographies is a comforting assurance that F. X. Kraus, who was so indispensable as the bibliographer of Christian archæology, has found worthy successors. They are up-to-date and reveal few lacunæ. Another feature is the extensive use of epigraphical material, which is commendable, in view of the fact that Christian inscriptions have been neither well collected nor arranged as yet. Especially good in the present fascicule, which covers the subjects from A-Ω to *Accusations contre les Chrétiens*, are the articles on A-Ω and *Abercius*. Vocabularies, tables and lists are to be a valuable feature of the work, if we may judge from the Gnostic vocabulary in the article *Abrasax*, the list of Christian inscriptions prefixed with D. M. in the article *Abréviations*, and the list of acclamatory formulæ in the article *Acclamations*. This last article strangely omits from its bibliography Kirsch's *Acclamationen und Gebete der altchr. Grabschriften*. Some other defects of a minor character are apparent in a rapid survey. A list, even if incomplete, of abbreviations in Christian inscriptions would have been a most welcome adjunct to the article *Abréviations*. The article *Abbesse* omits to cite the early inscription which contains the title given in Le Blant, ii, 615. The disappearance of D. M. from Christian inscriptions at the beginning of the fourth century, "au moment où la paix de l'Église permet aux fidèles d'abandonner la simplicité pendente des anciennes formules funéraires pour en adopter de nouvelles dans lesquelles ils pussent faire entrer la mention des dignités mondaines dont ils avaient été revêtus" (p. 167), is not a phenomenon peculiar to Christian epitaphs, since the formula fell into disuse from that time on

in inscriptions generally, pagan as well as Christian. The learned explanation, in Leclercq's article *Abécédaire*, of the letters A B C on a baptismal vase from Carthage, should have been modified by the appearance of a second vase of that character. It is really an interpretation of the letters and the accompanying cross, taken together. The other vase, found in Carthage in 1901, bears the letters without the cross, showing that their significance does not depend upon the latter. This second vase, moreover, was reported to the *Nuovo Bullettino d'archeologia cristiana* (1902, p. 244) by Leclercq himself. But these are points rather too small to be noticed; the general impression left by this excellent beginning is that the completed work will surely be not only an invaluable aid to students of Christian antiquities and history, but worthy to rank among the best of books of reference in general.

Princeton.

CHARLES P. MOREY.

**LIFE OF LUTHER.** With Several Introductory and Concluding Chapters from General Church History. By GUSTAV JUST, Teacher at the Bethlehem Ev. Lutheran School of St. Louis, Mo. (Translated from the German.) St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903. 12mo, pp. 103.

This little treatise of twenty chapters seeks to give the outstanding facts of the great reformer's life and work in the large setting of general church history. All that comes before the Reformation is told within the compass of twenty-six pages in five "introductory" chapters, bearing respectively the titles: The Christians of the First Century, The Persecutions, Constantine and the Spreading of Christianity in Germany, Popery and Monks, The Forerunners of the Reformation. The two "concluding" chapters give an eight-page sketch of the story of Lutheranism in Germany after the Reformation and the Lutheran Church in America. The heart and core of the genial little tract is found in the interjacent thirteen chapters, which devote about seventy pages to the salient facts of Luther's life and work. These sections, by their occasional altogether surprising fullness of detail, the suggestiveness of well-chosen anecdotes, the skillful and impressive paragraphing, as well as by the felicitous quotations from Luther's own pen, give the unpretending biography something of the scholarly flavor and even literary charm that characterize those truly celebrated primers on ancient Greek and Roman history that even college students find so engaging a *multum in parvo*. It is indeed remarkable how vivid an impression so short a sketch can make of the striking personality of its illustrious subject. The home-life of Luther, for example, is aptly illuminated by the complete citation of that touching letter which he wrote, when at the castle of Coburg, to his four-year old Hänschen. We only regret that the cause of historical study was not aided just a little more by the insertion of at least one map of Germany at the time of Luther.

**GOTTES WORT EINE GOTTES KRAFT.** An Beispielen aus alter und neuer Zeit gezeigt. Von H. WESELOH, Pastor der ev.-luth. Immanuelsgemeinde zu Cleveland, O. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1903. 12mo, pp. vi, 229.

We have here an interesting collection of historical illustrations of the life-transforming power of the Word of God. The chief sources for the many apt and oftentimes thrilling facts cited are Neander's *Kirchengeschichte*, *Glaubenshelden von E. Christi*, *Missionsstunden von Schlier*, and recent missionary magazines. The author first adduces a variegated mass of evidence from pagan Greek and Roman authors, as well as from modern missionaries in all parts of the world, to show the pitiable condition



of the race without the light of truth. In five additional chapters the writer gives striking examples of the experimental argument for Christianity, showing in particular the effect of the Word in conversion, in deepening the knowledge of sin, in giving comfort to the distressed, in sanctification, in ministering to the suffering, in helping the dying. A strong apologetic interest is united with a fervid religious spirit throughout the work. The practical and devotional character of the book ought to make it a welcome friend in many a home.

DER HEIDNISCHE URSPRUNG DES KATHOLISCHEN KULTUS, von P. EDUARD RABAUD, Präsident des Konsistoriums zu Montauban. Deutsch von G. Lüttgert. Gütersloh: Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1903. Pph., pp. 79.

The essential truth of the fact alluded to in the title itself, that the character of the Roman Catholic worship is due fundamentally to pagan influences, has long been familiar, and nowhere more so than in the field of German historical research. Nevertheless, Lüttgert has rendered a valuable service in bringing this instructive pamphlet of Rabaud's to a larger circle of German readers. Doubtless, Germany to-day needs more to be told what to believe than to be warned against believing too much. But even the illuminated Germans will derive no harm from the frequent and clear exposition of what Romanism is. The cardinal thesis is the following: "Roman Catholicism is a perversion of Christianity, the result of the triumphant influence of paganism over the Christian Church, after she had acquired the right to live, freedom, and power." To prove this proposition the author, after an introductory account of the worship of the early Church, traces, by way of contrast, the historical development of the worship of saints, relics, pictures, and especially of the Virgin Mary. He then sketches the history of the mass, emphasizes the sensuous character of the worship and the pagan origin of certain ecclesiastical vestments, such as the pallium, and practices, such as the tonsure. "At sight of this victorious incursion of paganism," the author justly concludes, "the Magdalene's cry of distress forces its way from the depths of the lacerated Christian heart: 'They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.'"

LUTHER'S COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST TWENTY-TWO PSALMS. By JOHN NICHOLAS LENKER, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis of the United Danish Ev. Luth. Church, Blair, Neb. Vol. I. Minneapolis, Minn., 1903. 12mo; pp. xvi, 446.

This work, we are informed, marks the beginning of a movement that aims "to produce a complete, faithful, critical, but popular edition" of Luther for the English-speaking world. This initial volume contains the translation of Luther's commentary on the first eight Psalms, his Preface to the revised edition of the German Psalter of 1531, and his dedication of 1519 to Frederick, Elector of Saxony, together with a four-page Introduction to the Psalms by the editor, and about twenty pages of prefatory information in regard to the need, value and character of the work here begun. We congratulate the enthusiastic editor on his success in having aroused sufficient interest in so great an enterprise as to warrant the hope that we may ere long have a complete Luther in English. For the works of the great reformer are assuredly the common heritage of Protestantism.

But let us also hope that the succeeding volumes may be somewhat enriched in their critical and historical value. The translation itself is a most admirable one. Dr. Lenker, himself a German author, has succeeded to a remarkable degree in the difficult task of transferring into idiomatic English the religious spirit and poetic suggestiveness of Luther's exegetical



style. He has made use of the Weimar edition wherever possible, and has freely revised Dr. Cole's translation of 1823. We quite agree, too, with the author that "we want Luther and not the translator in English." But we regret that we cannot have a little more of Luther by having a little more from the translator. From first to last there is not a single paragraph, not so much as a footnote, to throw any light upon that interesting phase in Luther's development that just precedes his appearance as a public reformer. The author has indeed a suspicion that a "full knowledge of his study in the Psalms gives us a new and more correct view of Luther's life;" and that this "study was a fit introduction to the reformatory Theses which enjoin true evangelical repentance." But just why these generalizations are valid we are left to our own studies of Luther to investigate. It may be questioned, too, whether the success of an enterprise that appeals to all Protestants would not have been rendered more sure had the author indulged in fewer of those overloud crescendo passages in praise of his denominational standard-bearer. Is it really true that "all agree that Paul is the greatest character in the Christian Church, and that since Paul's time none equals Luther" (p. viii.)? Do we not begin to lose confidence in our editorial guide when he indulges in such unqualified generalizations as the following?—"Luther's writings have made the Teutons what they are" (p. x.); "the United States has (*sic*) received more from Martin Luther, the father of modern civil and religious liberty, than from any other uninspired man" (p. x.); "as Moses was the greatest man in the Old Testament and Paul in the New, such is Luther in modern times" (viii.). By all means let English Protestants have Luther in English. But let us not becloud our vision of historical realities by forming comparative judgments that are not the less odious because uncritical.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER'S BRIEFE NEBST DEN WICHTIGSTEN BRIEFEN, DIE AN IHN GERICHTET SIND, UND EINIGEN ANDERN EINSCHLAGENDEN INTERESSANTEN SCHRIFTSTÜCKEN. Briefe vom Jahre 1507 bis 1532 incl. Aufs Neue herausgegeben im Auftrag des Ministeriums der deutschen ev.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903. 4to; pp. xl., 1790.

This is the first of the two volumes of the letters of and to Luther, with which the St. Louis edition of Luther's works, begun more than two decades ago, now approaches completion. The difficult work of editing anew the Luther correspondence, in the light of the discoveries made during the one hundred and fifty years that have elapsed since Walch's edition of Luther, has been done in the same scholarly manner that has characterized all the previous volumes of this excellent edition. We have here indeed a model of painstaking and learned editing, as well as of handsome bookmaking. The paper, the printing, the elaborate chronological and alphabetical indexes, the judiciously selected information in the notes, above all the unusual care manifested in the translation alike of the German and of the Latin letters into modern German, all unite to make this an edition of Luther in German that is worthy in every respect of the importance of the subject. Ample justice has been done to the results of the skilled specialists in this department of research, notably De Wette, Seidemann, Kolde and Enders.

Princeton.

F. W. LOETSCHER.

## V.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

THE REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE BIBLE. Ishmael to Daniel. By GEORGE MATHESON, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., etc. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1903. Pp. vii, 351.

This is the second series of sketches of the "representative men" of the Bible of Dr. Matheson's authorship, and it contains sixteen chapters, each devoted to the study of an Old Testament character. Let the author tell us of his plan: "By 'The Representative Men of the Bible' I mean the men of the Bible who represent phases of humanity irrespective of place and time; and I consider them only in those incidents in which they are thus representative. These studies are not historical; they are not critical; they are an analysis of the Portraits *as we see them*—without any attempt to inquire how or when they came." With this understanding of the author's purpose it is perhaps unfair to emphasize the fact that the reader is unable to determine whether the Biblical material dealt with has been regarded as history or as pure literature. But we cannot but feel that it would have been well if the thought were evident in every chapter—Here is a man who once lived, as truly as have Luther or Knox. We confess that we are somewhat teased throughout by the resemblance in tone between these brilliant studies and certain essays on noted characters of fiction and the drama with which the world is familiar. This feeling is intensified by an occasional designation of the grouping of events by the sacred writers as "art." For instance, a sentence from the chapter on "Jonathan the Generous" may be noted: "I used to think it a pity that the delineation of this narrative thus closed; it seemed a breach of art that the gentle life of Jonathan should end on the battlefield." A similar expression occurs in the chapter on Hezekiah. In both cases the "art" of the Scriptural narrative is vindicated; but we question the correctness of the application of the word. Who would venture to term the American historian's placing the assassination of Lincoln in the month of Lee's surrender as good or bad "art"? Art has play in the creation of a figure like Hamlet, and it has scope in the *language* of the historian; but it has nothing to do with the sequence of historical events.

But the work is, of course, brilliant. It is fresh in thought, rich in color, beautiful in diction. It is a book to afford help and pleasure to the preacher of profound learning as well as to the devout layman of most modest acquirements. Indeed, the union of force and clearness in Dr. Matheson's books is one of the marks of his genius, among others. To our mind the least satisfactory chapter is that on Balaam—perhaps because it is the most original; and we regard as containing the finest work of the series the chapters on "Melchisedek the Uncanonical" and "Mephibosheth the Deformed." Each chapter ends with a prayer inspired by the main thought of the sketch that precedes; and the prayers are thoughtful, as all prayers should be, and expressed in vigorous and chaste English. The book deserves, as it doubtless will receive, a wide reading.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

THE CHILD'S RELIGIOUS LIFE. A Study of the Child's Religious Nature and the Best Methods for Its Training and Development. By Rev. WILLIAM GEORGE KOONS, A.M., B.D. With an Introduction by Thomas B. Neely, D.D., LL.D. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye [1903]. 12mo; pp. xii, 270.

The good hopes with which we approached this book have been only par-

tially justified by its reading. The subject is a most attractive one and is ripening for an epoch-making treatment. The author has apparently come directly from the psychological laboratory, and yet is filled with a practical zeal which promises well for the sane utilization of the psychological data that have been accumulating of late years. And indeed there is much in the book that both interests and instructs.

We like its fundamental insistence on the universal, persistent and ineradicable possession by humanity of a religious nature, so that religion does not need to be so much generated in children as regenerated. "The persistency of the religious instinct," says Mr. Koons, "is one of the special messages of this book" (p. 81). It is a good message. We must begin all discussion of religious training with the recognition of the presence in man by nature of a *semen religionis*, a *sensus divinitatis*, which he can no more be without than he can be without his reason itself. "The religiousness of the race," says Mr. Koons, with profound truth, "is the deeper fact, while sin and recovery therefrom are only incidents in its life history" (p. 89). Religiousness belongs, in other words, to man as man—it is an increased quality of humanity: while sin and redemption are accidental incidents of man's history. Mrs. Rundle Charles beautifully expresses the same great fact when she describes a beloved aunt as one who "was not blind to the twists and sins of those she tried to help, but underneath the crusts and dust had the vision of the beauty of souls, the faith that the image of God is older and would last longer than the flaws." We must certainly begin in all questions regarding religious training with the postulate that man, having been created in the image of God, is by nature a religious animal, and may, nay must, be approached as such.

We like, moreover, the determination Mr. Koons shows to make the most of and reap the fullest benefit from the recent scientific study of the gradual development of the child's mental life. We read with the fullest sympathy when he says: "It is the contention of this book that religious training has been only partly successful because we have set about it in a slipshod, unintelligent manner; and in the main have been fighting against nature" (p. 23). And we follow with the keenest interest when Mr. Koons proceeds to point out the ascertained stages of the child's religious development and proposes to adjust the method of the religious training of children to that *schema*. This is just what we have been looking for—a wise and prudent adaptation of our methods of training to the unfolding nature of the child: and we shall not be so ungracious as not to acknowledge frankly that Mr. Koons says many things helpfully on this fruitful theme.

Nevertheless, we have not found the entire satisfaction in the book which we had hoped for. In the first place it is written with that odd air of great discovery and "revolutionary-programme" which has of late become so common among a certain class of writers. There is such an emphasis on the "novelty" of things—some of which are as little novel as humanity itself. "We are now learning"—is the burden of page after page; as if the author were so prepossessed with his personal sense of expanding knowledge as to retain little power to pause to estimate the actual novelty of the items of fact he is adducing. Thus we find him gravely asserting of the fact that the "child mind unfolds gradually": "This is one of the most important discoveries of modern child study" (p. 26). Bless his own unfolding apprehension, Eve had not had little Cain on her knee a week before she found *that* out! What our recent investigators have been doing for us is to study with more exactness the order and the nature of the successive stages of this gradual unfolding, not "discovering" its reality. If there ever was a time when the child was really esteemed by practical workers as an adult



in miniature, it must have been in pre-Adamite ages: from Adam down we have known better.

We are next disturbed by the infusion into the treatment of a certain leaven of "naturalism," which is in part due perhaps to a certain measure of mechanicalness and artificiality in Mr. Koons' dealing with his subject. We must not be misunderstood as if we did not recognize to the full the brave efforts Mr. Koons makes to escape the "naturalism" of his theories. He protests even a little too much against being interpreted as disregarding the work, say, of the Holy Spirit in the religious development of the child and especially in conversion. But the leaven of naturalism is there all the same; and the often somewhat mechanically adjoined disclaimers do not remove it.

Take an outstanding example. According to the theory presented, stated baldly, the child comes into the world with a religious nature which needs only proper training to develop normally into a perfect adult. A properly trained child will, therefore, escape entirely the sense of sin. "Our study of the child's religious nature," says Mr. Koons (p. 50), "leads us to a very important conclusion"—and it is, indeed, a most important conclusion, and may well stand as a test of the soundness either of the theory he is operating with or of its application by him to the case in hand. This conclusion is, that "the child is so constituted that, under proper environment and training from infancy up, he will never be for one moment in life consciously astray from God." There will never be a time "when the child will say, 'I am a sinner.'" This result he presents as "the joint product of natural tendencies and good training." It is admitted, indeed, that "this blessed experience" has, up till to-day at least, been "seldom realized in actual life." But it is added that this "is a condemnation of the average religious training given our children, but in no wise a disproof of the teaching given above." It is safe to say on the contrary that such a blessed experience has not seldom merely but never been realized in actual life except in the single case of the Blessed One, and that it never will be realized again. It could be realized in actual life, indeed, only in case children brought into the world with them no entail of sin and could under proper training escape its contagion.

Mr. Koons, in a word, denies with emphasis the doctrine of "Original Sin." He deprecates the effects on our methods of dealing with children which have been wrought by "the old Jesuitical notions of 'original sin' and 'total depravity,'" which have "led us to look upon the child as naturally a "debased creature" (p. 23)—though why he should call these "notions" just "Jesuitical" it will no doubt puzzle the student of the history of doctrine extremely to determine. He declares that "that nightmare of the theologians"—"original sin" in the sense of guilt—"has happily passed away never to return" (p. 77). He allows, however, the presence in every child of Adam of at least a native moral disorder, a taint of nature, producing a bias to evil (p. 82), although he ultimately reduces even this "depravity" to nothing but a certain condition of "brain" substance. "At birth the brain substance is in a specific form and reacts in specific, appropriate ways. These ways of reaction we call our inherited instincts or tendencies. So, after all, our inheritance from our ancestors is little more than certain specific forms of brain substance calculated to react in specific ways. Depravity is transmitted to us in a disordered brain substance. We inherit a tendency or impulse to react more readily to those stimuli which promote the interests of self than to those which lead to the love, trust and service of God" (p. 87). Even on the basis of this attenuated doctrine of depravity it is hard to see how Mr. Koons can so confidently declare it to be not only



possible but capable of being made usual, that children can by mere training wisely directed be reared without any sense of sin. This is assuredly the proclamation of a new form of the process which Dr. Basil Wilberforce used to scoff at under the name of "the Old Adam improvement society limited." Assuredly the *eradication* of this inherited bias to evil is a requisite to a holy life, and *eradication* is not the result of *training*.

In all this, let it be observed, we have not found Mr. Koons saying one effective word about the regeneration of the Holy Spirit. He wishes earnestly to recognize its necessity and to proclaim its reality—as understood by him. And in another connection he explicitly recognizes the presence and necessity of "common grace" (p. 90). But it is only too plain that there is no adequate place for it in the theories he is exploiting. The infant, if he dies in infancy, does not need any regeneration any more than he needs an atonement. "We base our confidence," he says, "that the dying infant gets to heaven, not on the ground that all infants are by the grace of God brought into a regenerate state, but on a belief that the infant is not, in a personal sense, responsible for the existence of depravity in him, and hence cannot be condemned or punished without the direst injustice" (p. 94). The infant, dying such, goes to bliss, then, on the ground of his own right: neither the work of Christ nor that of the Holy Spirit is needful in his case. If he does not die in infancy, however, though he may not need the blood of Christ to cleanse his conscience from sin—since, as we have seen, he may grow up under such training as never to have any consciousness of sin—yet he may be supposed to need the work of the Holy Spirit to purge him of the inborn bias to evil to which all "original sin" is reduced. Certainly Mr. Koons when, speaking *qua* clergyman, is quick to affirm the necessity of this work of the Spirit in cleansing the soul (pp. 89, 90). But we must not go too fast here. When speaking in the terms of his theories, he equally certainly reduces this necessity and leaves no abiding impression of it on the mind of the reader. Here is probably the keyword to the matter, from the side of his theories of child-training: "We still believe that only God can work these great changes in the human soul, but we believe, as never before, that he works through natural means and in harmony with nature's seasons" (p. 96). That is not spoken of the specific change we call "conversion"; but there seems no reason why much the same language might not be applied to "conversion." For "conversion," too, has its natural side: nay, its natural side supplies not only the ordinary time and occasion of it (p. 109) but also the decisive factor in it. For Mr. Koons proclaims as extreme a doctrine of the will as he does of other human things. "It is a matter of common consciousness," he tells us, "that the will is so sovereign that it can go against all tendencies, and all influences, and direct the life along the line of its own choices" (p. 132).

Accordingly in the most connected passage descriptive of the process of salvation, Mr. Koons explains the relations between the several operative factors as follows. "Salvation, in its final essence, is a change of character. It is less an exemption from the penalty of sin than it is the supplanting of a disposition or bias towards evil and irreligiosity by a permanent disposition or bias towards the good and the religious. This change is wrought by the Holy Spirit operating through the free will of the individual, and that in turn utilizing the natural elements and sources of influence around it. No regeneration or sanctification ever supersedes the part assigned the human will in the change of character" (p. 135). Even the Holy Spirit, then, it seems, can do nothing without the will. Nor can the Holy Spirit absolutely determine the will—since, as we have seen, "the will is so sovereign that it can go against all tendencies and all influences" whatever. And

this being true, it of course follows further that the will can do everything apart from the Holy Spirit. There is much in this remarkable passage that calls for remark. But it is enough for our present purpose to remark that it renders the Holy Spirit useful but not indispensable in that mighty change of character in which, more than in forgiveness of sin, salvation is made to consist. We will, however, pause further only to protest against the employment of the word "permanent" in this passage, as if the new dispositions towards good arising in the saved soul, in the presence of a will able at all times "to go against all tendencies and all influences," changing hereditary bias itself, warily no doubt but thoroughly (p. 132), could by any propriety be called "permanent"; for why may not this will change them too at any moment? And in the same breath we protest against the utilization of a kindred conception at a later point (p. 155), to suggest the impossibility of "reviving the religious instinct" in a person whose early life has been absolutely free from religious impression. With man it were impossible; but not with God; for all things are possible with God: and the Bible teaches us of a Spiritus Sanctus Creator, and not merely of a Spirit that influences the will and the success of whose work will wait on the pleasure of this will.

Enough has been said, doubtless, to show the extremities into which Mr. Koons allows himself to be led in adjusting his primary Arminian doctrines to his new theories of child-culture. These extremities pervade and mar the book sadly. Add that his theories are somewhat mechanically applied to the work of child-training and it will be clear why we have not found the book as helpful as we had hoped. We cheerfully bear witness, nevertheless, that it gives a clear account of the more recent suggestions as to the order and stages of development of the child's mind, and makes a sustained if somewhat crude attempt to adjust these suggestions to the child's religious training. The first half of the book contains the theoretical discussion; the last half essays to offer guidance for the actual prosecution of religious training. There is much said that is interesting and helpful, and the book can be read with profit by those who can use it discretely. But it might so easily have been made so much better!

*Princeton.*

B. B. WARFIELD.

THE HISTORY AND USE OF HYMNS AND HYMN-TUNES. By the Rev. DAVID R. BREED, D.D., Professor in the Western Theological Seminary. Chicago, New York and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, MCMIII. 12mo, pp. 364.

It has been for long a matter of observation and remark that the average Presbyterian pastor is inadequately equipped for the conduct of the congregational service of praise. From the musical side of its administration he too often feels compelled to hold himself altogether aloof, and with the body of hymns is content to deal less as materials of praise than as furnishing illustrations of his sermon themes. To this state of facts the author of the book under review has addressed himself. He was among the first to attempt to remedy it by instruction from his Seminary chair, and to his book belongs the distinction of being the first text-book on its subject for candidates for the Presbyterian ministry. This gives us the point of view from which Dr. Breed's book is to be approached. It gives also uncommon interest to the book; for we have here the subject of hymnology as it presents itself to one of the few who have had actual experience in teaching that subject.

The First Part of the book deals with hymns. The early chapters contain a rapid review of Hebrew, Early Christian, Greek, Latin and German hymn-

ody, and the metrical psalm versions beginning with that of Geneva. Chapter VI considers various attempts to determine what hymns have actually gained widest approval in the Church, and seeks to learn the indispensable qualities of a true hymn. What may be called the body of the book deals specifically with English hymns, whose writing the author divides into three periods. The method is to fix the student's attention only upon representative writers and their principal hymns, and not to burden him with the mass of details with which a hymnologist must deal. The selection of names is truly representative, though the inclusion of "Mrs. Vokes" (to whom B. H. Draper's hymns are ascribed) occasions surprise. The third period, beginning with 1850, is treated as one of decadence, in which "it would almost seem as though the ability of original utterance in sacred song of high character were departing from the church." This is defiance, indeed, of Mr. Garret Horder, and of the views he recently came across the water to express to us. On the whole Dr. Breed's review of English hymns is full of interest. It has a value far beyond the amount of information furnished in that it is calculated to win the student to a quickened and more intelligent interest in hymns.

It is a criticism not so much of Dr. Breed's book as of all hymnologies to say that its history of hymns is a history of hymn-making rather than of hymn-using, the literary rather than the liturgical history of hymns. Not here (and indeed where?) does the student find an account of the origins of the hymn-form, its adoption and development in connection with the Divine Office, the contrasted Reformation dealings with the hymn, its final vindication in the Psalmody controversy, the beginnings and evolution of the hymn book, and the true ideal and right use of the latter.

If such be not the natural method of dealing with hymns, it is at all events not unlike that chosen by Dr. Breed for dealing with the tunes, which are the theme of the Second Part of his book. He gives us the evolution of the hymn-tune form, from its beginnings to its culmination in the modern Anglican School, and traces the reaction for which Mr. Moody must be held responsible. In so doing he introduces many theological students into what is to them a new world, and proves both a safe and considerate guide. His handling of the subject from the practical side must commend itself to all who care for church praise.

After a temperate and wise discussion of the so-called "Gospel Songs," the book closes with a chapter which is a powerful plea for the proper coördination of preaching and praise. We are confident that Dr. Breed's book will help to bring about that desirable end.

*Philadelphia.*

LOUIS F. BENSON.

THE AMERICAN REVISIONS OF WATTS'S PSALMS. By LOUIS F. BENSON, D.D. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Historical Society, 1903. 8vo, pp. 32.

In the number of this REVIEW for July, 1903 (p. 501), attention was called to two papers by Dr. Benson, in which some features of the early history of Dr. Watts's hymnological work were investigated. In the interesting paper now before us a valuable study is given us of the efforts that were made to adapt Dr. Watts's Psalms to the use of the American Churches. The necessity of such adaptation arose from Dr. Watts's habit of incorporating "local" features into his "imitations"—by which matter was introduced that was no longer acceptable to revolted America. The attempt to revise the text was begun betimes—Mycall's revision having been published before the treaty of peace was signed. Dr. Benson traces with exactness the suc-



cession of such revised editions—those of Mycall (1781), Barlow (1785), Thomas (1786), Dwight (1801), being the important items,—and gives a sufficing account of each undertaking in its chief issues and variations. The most interesting episode in the history concerns the substitution of Dwight's for Barlow's revision. This Dr. Benson treats with some fullness and with eminent judiciousness. The pamphlet is a marvel of exact and lucid bibliography.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

REX CHRISTUS. An Outline Study of China. By ARTHUR H. SMITH. New York and London: The Macmillan Co., 1903. 12mo, pp. 256. 50 cts.

This volume is the third in the series of text-books issued by the Central Committee on the United Study of Missions, organized by the Woman's Societies at the time of the Ecumenical Conference. The first of the series, *Via Christi*, tracing the history of missions from Paul to Carey, has had a sale of 40,000, and the second, *Lux Christi, an Outline Study of India*, of 45,000 copies. That these are text-books designed as the basis for extended courses of study by mission classes adds significance to these numbers in evidencing the extent of the intelligent interest in missions upon the part of the women of the Church. The Committee assured success for their text-book upon China when they secured Dr. Arthur H. Smith, author of *Chinese Characteristics*, etc., for its author; for no one knows the Chinese better, or can tell what he knows as well as this veteran missionary. After he has passed the task of condensing the history and geography of the great empire into the forty pages of the first chapter, not even the compacted brevity of a manual can restrain Dr. Smith from the brilliancy of style and vividness of portrayal characteristic of his other books. In his chapters on the Religion and the People of China the very spirit of the Chinese and their faiths is given expression. His expositions of the "Solidarity of Chinese Society," of "the Talent for Indirection," of "the Sentiment toward Foreigners," of "a Chinese Scholar's View of Christianity," and of "Saving the 'Face,'" let in much light on the political and missionary problems of China. Christian missions from the earliest times in their salient features and notable personalities are reviewed by periods, and the title of the last chapter, "An Open Door of Opportunity," gives the veteran observer's judgment of the missionary situation. The Boxer movement tested the Church as by fire, consuming some dross, but it emerges purified and strengthened, better fitted to receive the larger numbers who are being drawn by the Gospel. Each chapter is concluded by "Significant Sentences" from authorities upon China, chronological tables of events, "Themes for Study" and a carefully prepared bibliography upon the topic of the chapter.

Women should not be allowed to enjoy a monopoly of this book.

Princeton, N. J.

PAUL MARTIN.

SHALL I UNITE WITH THE CHURCH? By WILLIAM BRYANT. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1903. Pp. 26. 5 cents.

This little pamphlet answers the question of the title and shows how church membership may be worthily maintained. Seventeen succinctly stated counsels form the headings of the paragraphs which are in simple language, and are Biblical, practical and sensible. The tract will be found useful to put in the hands of those who are, or who ought to be, candidates for admission to the Church.

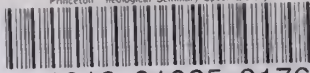
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